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THE
IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY

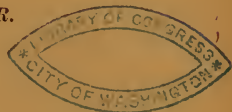
AND
PUBLIC OPINION.

By A. ALISON, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION, &c.

"We enjoy peace, order, wealth, and advancement in all material and social matters. But let us beware. The whole world, old and new, tells us how soon all this may be suddenly checked, thrown into ruin, and laid under clouds and darkness."—*The Times*.

WITH A PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.



L O N D O N :

G. H. NICHOLS, EARL'S COURT, LEICESTER SQUARE;

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1862.

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GENERAL PREFACE.

The present work may be considered a history of the times in which we live, as well as a complete system of Morals, Religion, and Politics ; and as it treats of Progress and Regeneration, it is one of no ordinary interest to us all.

The Reformation movement may now be considered *un fait accompli*, for the recent proceedings in Yorkshire have placed that beyond a doubt. Nothing, therefore, now remains, but to spread the movement by means of Lectures and Essays throughout the length and breadth of the land. Human nature being the same everywhere, it follows, that what has been done in one locality, may be done in another ; and we doubt not that very soon every city and town will have its Reformation Society, and its Ladies' Committee to give circulation to this work, and to collect funds to meet necessary expenses.

Having fearlessly told the whole truth, we are rewarded with a degree of progress which is perhaps unprecedented in the history of any previous movement, either religious or political. It is true that the times have been particularly favorable to us, but it will not be forgotten, that with all the advantages we have enjoyed, we had our own difficulties to contend with. Now that all difficulties have been fairly overcome, we hope a monument has been reared to Truth and Justice which will endure for centuries yet to come.

Truth, consistency, and impartiality, have been our object from first to last ; and these are the principles with which the name of the Reformation Society will ever be identified. We have stood midway between the laity and the clergy ; and in awarding to each their due we trust we are acting in a manner to command the confidence of both. The same may be said of the political world. We stand half way between the whigs and the tories ; and in holding the scales of justice equally balanced, we receive support from both.

Long, too long, have we been contented to sit in comparative darkness, but we shall now see the light, when peace, good-will, and contentment will take the place of all the evil passions which govern man in a partially civilized state.

It may be necessary to explain that we do not desire the establishment of any new Church, but only the reformation of the existing Churches. We shall accordingly discourage all proposals for a new Church, for that would only defeat our object of reforming the existing Churches.

While we seek the reformation of the Churches, we shall give our attention at the same time to the reformation of Politics, for the interests of the body, as well as the soul, must be attended to, if we desire a result in which no want or schism shall exist. By introducing the principle of "responsibility" into the affairs of the State, as well as of the Church, we shall reduce the expenditure of the country to an extent which will relieve us from a large portion of taxation which presses so heavily on us all.

Truth is principle, or that which is right. Conscience is the perceiver of Truth; and, in submitting these pages to the consideration of our readers, we appeal to the Conscience, as to a judge in whom we have every confidence. It is ignorance and delusion which blinds the consciences of men and makes them to differ, but let that evil be removed by the information which these pages supply, and the conscience will be free to judge without prejudice. Principles are easy to find, and when found, are as easy of belief. As to matters of fact, and any thing where principle does not apply, there must of course be differences of opinion.

A word in conclusion to the reader. This book ought to be read through, and as it treats of the causes of action, it may be read again and again, until it is fully understood. Weigh and consider every sentence on its own merits. Your own good sense shall be the judge by which to test one and all its statements, and when you find a sentence to be true, accept it, and pass on to the next. You will thus read to profit, and your soul will grow in that which is good and honoring to God and Man.

LONDON,

January, 1862.

THE REFORMATION IN YORKSHIRE.

The Chairman of the New Reformation Society, of London, being at present a resident in Scarborough, was asked to deliver a series of lectures in the Prince of Wales' Hotel, to explain the object of the society to which he belongs. Two meetings were accordingly held on the 22nd and 23rd inst., (September, 1861), which were attended by large and influential audiences of ladies and gentlemen. The meetings gave great satisfaction; and that the matter might take a practical turn, a series of resolutions were prepared, printed, and circulated previous to the last meeting, of which the following is a report :—

“Mr. ALISON commenced by saying that the meeting last night was confined to the subject of religion, but to-night he would extend his subject of reform into the vast world of politics. He explained that Lord Bacon committed the great mistake of separating Religion from Politics, an error which was fatal to progress; for, unless all the causes of action are reformed and perfected, the world cannot be moved or reformed. This error on the part of the great philosopher of the sixteenth century will be corrected by the present movement, which, as you all know, embraces both religion and politics.

“The first practical object of the society is the repeal of the Income Tax, and the Tea Duties; this great reform is to be effected by the introduction of a new department into government, as is fully explained by Essay No. 4 of the society. The next practical object is the reform of the Church; this reform, I may explain, will exclusively affect the preaching of the clergy, and by improving that, by the adoption of the new Articles of Belief published by our society, we shall reform the minds of men, and so improve the world.

“Earl Russell told us the other day that the time has gone by for Electoral Reform Bills, and he is quite right. The people have discovered that no good is to come from reforms of that kind. We want reforms that are to put something into our pockets, and reforms which will make us better and happier men. Why is it that our statesmen have allowed the Church to remain unreformed so long? The reply is that the people have never asked for such reform; but now they will not have that excuse to make for allowing the people to remain so long with a state of ignorance and delusion as to their real interests. 1st, the Evil Passions of Men want reforming; 2nd, the Church Articles want reforming; and 3rd, the Government wants reforming, and it is to promote these general reforms among the people and in Parliament that our society has been organized. The first of these reforms you can carry out yourselves, and the two last you can help us to carry by sending up your petitions to Parliament. It will not be necessary that I should go into details as to the precise nature of these reforms, as the publications of our society are in your hands, and to these I must refer you for all particulars.

"The world has improved, as every man may ascertain, by comparing the Middle Age with the Nineteenth Century, and that is the proof that it is capable of improvement. What is Civilization, but the improvement of Nature, or the abolition of evil. Away then with the idle nostrums of the sceptics, who deny that the world is capable of improvement. These men think they are wise, but, alas, their wisdom is folly! Good and evil exist, and every man is endowed with the faculty of distinguishing the one from the other, and of producing good and reducing evil. The Reformed Religion which we uphold is a Religion of Belief, for we believe in man's capacity for self-improvement, whereas the unreformed religion now existing in the church is, to a great extent, a religion of negatism, as it ignores the power of man to improve himself. Some men have no heart for suffering humanity, and are so evil-disposed as to avow their dislike to all amendments. Of such men we can only say they are not Christians, for there is no man who is animated by the feelings of a Christian, who would desire that the world should remain unreformed.

"Gentlemen,—It has been said that we intend to make men religious by Act of Parliament, but what is the fact? At present, the preaching of the pulpit is regulated by Act of Parliament (Act of James I, 1603). Now, all we propose, is to amend that act, so as to improve the preaching of the pulpit, and through that great reform, afford improved instruction to the people. That is the whole of our scheme of Church Reform, and you will find it is as simple as it will be efficacious.

"On the ways and means, I wish to say one word. We have no ambition to be a wealthy corporation—all we ask is that those who can afford it, will give us One Guinea, which will entitle them to a Life Member's Ticket, and certain privileges as to the purchase of the Society's publications. We cannot continue to pay printers' bills and the expenses of meetings without money, and I hope you will remember this and send your contributions to the Treasurer, 27, New Bond Street, London. I may further explain, that sums of Five Shillings and upwards, will entitle the donors to become ordinary members of the Society.

"One word as to India. Our excellent chairman told you last night that if they had had the Reformation Society in operation in India only ten years ago, the late disastrous mutiny in that vast empire would have been entirely prevented; and I can confirm all he said. With a lucid and consistent creed, instead of an inconsistent one which the natives cannot understand, and never will accept, the whole of the Hindoo and Mahometan population would have been converted to Christianity, which would have rendered mutiny as impossible in India as it is in England. This consideration shows that the future prosperity and peace of India depends much on the success of our movement, as the improvement of religion will powerfully tend to prevent future rebellions and mutinies, and enable us to improve the condition of India.

With reference to the Oxford Essays and Reviews, I beg to explain that when I noticed that book in my Work on Civilization, I had not had time to read it, but now that I have perused the book, I have no hesitation in saying that I cannot approve of it.

"The grand difficulty in all constitutional states is how to deal with

the franchise. To place the power in the hands of an illiterate populace—to make the peasant equal to the educated squire or merchant—seems preposterous; and yet it is difficult to resist that result. Now, there are three ways in which this difficult problem may be solved, with safety to the state. The first is to maintain the qualification at a high rate, say a £10 franchise. 2.—To have a strong government, as in France, and reduce the franchise to universal suffrage. And, 3rd.—To enlighten the people, and, after that to reduce the franchise, so that every man may have a vote.

“With any of these modes there would be safety, but it is manifest that the latter mode is the only one that combines safety with liberty. We say that to educate and enlighten the people by a competent system of instruction, and then to lower the franchise is the way to deal with the Elective Reform question in this country. It will be found that the new reformation movement which we support is competent to effect that great object which has hitherto baffled all our statesmen to solve.

“Universal suffrage in connection with an illiterate mob has brought America to the verge of ruin. How is it possible to expect any other result by placing the power in the hands of those who know nothing of the complex and difficult art of government. It is obviously impossible for America, after having lowered the franchise, to raise it. We therefore, do not propose that, but we propose that they should elect a king, and then America will have universal suffrage in connection with a strong government, and that will deliver them from the tyranny of a government of corruption and misrule.

“It is our wish and desire that every man should have a vote, and if the people of England will support our Bill for the Reformation of the Church, that will give improved instruction to the people, and, within one year after the passing of that Bill, we shall propose a great reduction of the franchise. Intelligence and the franchise must always go together, or there will be danger to the state; and in reforming the Church so that we may enfranchise the people, we hope, not only to receive the approval of the upper classes, but likewise the warm support of the people, who are to be the gainers by the change.

“I have to announce that two Provincial Societies are to be formed in Yorkshire, the one in Leeds and the other in Scarborough. These Societies are to be entirely independent of the London Society, and are to be constituted on the sound principle of being self-supporting. I need scarcely say that I wish these Societies all success, and if they should at any time desire that I should deliver lectures to them, I shall be most happy to do so.”

The CHAIRMAN, W. GREER, Esq., now moved the adoption of the printed Resolutions, approving of the movement, and of petitioning both Houses of Parliament in favor of the Reforms in Church and State, which have been proposed by the Reformation Society. The motion was seconded by CAPTAIN LE STRANGE. On a show of hands being called for, the Chairman declared the Resolutions to have been carried unanimously. A vote of thanks having been voted to Mr. ALISON for his interesting and instructive lectures, and to the Chairman for his conduct in the Chair, the meeting separated.—*Scarborough Times*.

At Meetings held at Scarborough on the 22nd and 23rd September,

1861, the following Resolutions in support of a General Reformation were agreed to unanimously. Wm. Greer, Esq., M.A., in the Chair:—

1st.—“This Meeting having heard A. Alison, Esq., of the Reformation Society of London, explain the principles and objects of that Society, do approve generally of the movement.”

2nd.—“That a Committee be appointed to promote the movement throughout the United Kingdom. A. Alison, Esq., to be Chairman, who will sign the Petitions.”

3rd.—“That the Committee be instructed to call the special attention of the Press to the paramount importance of this movement in the present critical position of the country, that the objects of the movement be disseminated among the masses.”

4th.—“That the Committee be likewise instructed to communicate with the Clergy in all parts of the country, and to urge on them the necessity of bringing the reformation under the notice of their flocks.”

5th.—“That a Petition from this meeting in favour of the proposed Church Reform Bill, of which a draft is given in Essay No. 1 of the Reformation Society, be presented to the Queen, the Convocation, and to both Houses of Parliament.”

“The world-wide subject of Mr. Alison’s Lectures last week may well beget a spirit of sound enquiry among the nations of Europe and America, in the present critical position of affairs. Even Englishmen must be taught to think, for it may be that the changes going on abroad may very soon produce troublesome times in England; and if the learned lecturer should succeed in stirring up the dormant spirit of the Nation, he will do us all a service which shall never be forgotten. A new thing has happened in this dull world of ours. Protestants, Catholics, Churchmen and Dissenters have met together, and after hearing the Articles of Belief of the Reformation Society read over, they vote together in accepting them, and of petitioning the Crown and Parliament to convert them into law! All parties are now convinced that a Reformation is indispensable; and as sound-minded men fear that there are breakers ahead, if the American War is to go on, they hail the new movement as one that is well timed, and the guarantee of future peace. It will be observed that along with the Religious reformation is associated a Political reformation. The government is to be reformed; and that is expected to produce a saving of twelve millions sterling per annum—a sum sufficient to repeal the Tea Duties and the Income Tax! In accepting these reforms all men are agreed; and we hope the Lancashire and Yorkshire men, who have promised to Mr. Alison to raise a subscription of one hundred thousand pounds, to be presented to the committees of the Reformation Societies, on the completion of their glorious scheme, will soon be called on for the money. The boon of a General Reformation will be cheaply purchased at ten thousand times that amount, and we say the sooner the purchase is completed the better. There is 1st, Personal Reform; 2nd, Church Reform; and 3rd, Government Reform; and these movements must all go on simultaneously, for without the first, the two last could not be carried out in their integrity. We have all been waiting for a new movement, and now we have got one equal to the requirements of the age.”—*Scarborough Times*.

IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY.

WE purpose, within the compass of a single chapter, to offer such remarks on the manners, habits, and customs of Society as may be calculated to improve them. With this object, we shall treat of the various motives of human action under different heads, which may serve as rules of thought, speech, and action. The following table is printed in double columns—on the one side are the practice of Nature, and on the other, Civilization. We hope, by these rules, to deliver the great subject of Human Nature, which has hitherto been considered an inexplicable riddle, from much of its mystery and difficulty. Should we succeed in our object, the complete emancipation of Society from the tyranny of ignorance and delusion will be achieved—a result devoutly to be desired.

NATURE.

1. Selfishness or Malevolence.
2. Pride, Haughtiness, Conceit, & Vanity.
3. Dishonesty, Falsehood, and Cheating.
4. Envy and Jealousy.
5. Hatred, Malice, and Evil Speaking.
6. Hypocrisy.
7. False Indignation.
8. Anger and Bad Temper.
9. Resentment, Retaliation, and Revenge.
10. Evil Conscience.
11. Unreasonable Wishes.
12. Discontent and Disappointment.
13. Prejudice. Obstinacy.
14. Scepticism, Irreligion.
15. Love of Evil.
16. Pain and Regret.
17. Love Marriages.
18. Love of children.
19. Dress and parade.
20. Good living.
21. Love of money.
22. Amusements.
23. Fashion, Indolence.
24. Bad Manners, Vulgarity.
25. Melancholy and Despair.
26. The Natural Soul—a Wilderness.

These are the Natural Passions or affections, before they have been acted on by Reason and Experience.

CIVILIZATION.

1. Benevolence, Absence of Selfishness.
2. Respect for others Nobleness.
3. Integrity and Fairness.
4. Kindness and Forgiveness.
5. Liberality.
6. Sincerity.
7. Righteous Indignation.
8. Good Temper.
9. Patience and Forbearance.
10. Good Conscience.
11. Moderate Wishes and Aspirations.
12. Happiness and Contentment.
13. Conviction of Truth.
14. Love of God, Religion.
15. Love of Good.
16. Pleasure, Satisfaction.
17. Suitable Marriages.
18. Moderation.
19. Plainness and Simplicity.
20. Moderation.
21. Money not the chief aim.
22. Amusements in moderation.
23. Self-Reliance, Intelligence.
24. Gentility and Good Manners.
25. Hope and Gladness.
26. The Regenerated Soul—a Garden.

The Regenerated Passions or Affections, after they have been acted on by Reason and Experience.

1. *Selfishness*.—We shall now proceed to comment on the most important of these rules, and we shall begin with Selfishness, and its opposite Benevolence. Selfishness produces Pride, Haughtiness, and contempt of others. It depresses and persecutes others in order to exalt itself and is the parent of Envy and Jealousy. A selfish person only thinks of himself, and his own desires. All his feelings are bestowed on his own family and connexions, his own town, parish or county, and his own profession and hobbies. This is Nature in its rude beginnings, for it cannot be called Civilization, which is built on principle and

generalization, the opposite of selfishness. The selfish would not care though the whole world were destroyed or ruined, so they and theirs were saved. On the contrary, some would even delight in a catastrophe which might exalt themselves by the depression of others. While Selfishness is the bane of society, Benevolence is its life and soul. Benevolence is the salt of the earth, without which society must go to decay. Man is born to love, and those who have nothing on which to place their affections but evil are to be pitied. Let us hope that the good and the noble will show themselves, and they will leaven the whole mass with a new and better spirit than that which now governs society.

2. *Pride and Haughtiness.*—These feelings are built upon the assumption that we are better than our neighbours. That feeling causes us to look down with contempt on others. Pride depends on self-deception, for the moment that the knowledge of truth comes in, pride goes out. Where talents and excellence are, there envy and jealousy point their poisoned darts. The cultivation of the good feelings can alone reduce these evil feelings. Why envy the good and noble, when you can be as good and noble as they, if you will do as they have done, and cultivate the better feelings?

3. *Integrity.*—If an honest man is the noblest work of God, a dishonest man is the vilest. That honesty is the best policy is a truth no less certain, for dishonesty not only mars the countenance, but vilifies the conscience, and renders happiness and peace an impossibility. What but happiness is the object of all? and instead of dishonesty bringing that, it sends it away. These, and many other truths we have to speak of, are truisms, but that is no reason why they should not be reiterated in the hearing for all, but the reverse, for we are apt to forget the rudiments of morality from their very commonness.

4. *Hypocrisy.*—The hypocrite is a self-deluded man, and when he meets with anything which convicts him of error, which is a constant occurrence, indignation and anger are the necessary result. We have no pity for the pain which such men suffer, for it is all their own fault. Let them correct their opinions, and they will be freed from their sufferings.

5. *Liberality.*—Nobleness of character we have defined to be, respect for others. This is the essence of the christian character, and who is able to do justice to its claims on the human mind? He is our father, and brother, and child, who is able to overcome self-love, and feel the same respect for others that he has for himself. Ignorance is the chief cause why Liberality, that noblest of faculties, is not more general, for we cannot love what we do not know.

7. *Indignation.*—This faculty is at the command of the bad feelings, as well as the good feelings. The indignation of the mobs of Paris, at the Revolution of 1789, was an instance of vicious indignation; and the indignation of a court at the conviction of crime, an instance of a righteous indignation. Devotion is no test of religion—neither is indignation any test of crime.

8. *Temper.*—Anger, hatred, and malice, are the attributes of a bad temper. What but self-love and pride is the cause of this consummation of wickedness? To such persons we say—Cultivate the good feelings; and all that is necessary to that, is, to free your mind from

ignorance and delusion. Instead of turning away from truth, boldly face it, and you will reap the rewards of peace and contentment.

10. *Evil Conscience*.—To those whose affections are set on evil, the conscience is in a diseased state ; this is shown when we become indignant of the good and noble. Conscience, in a healthy state, is the perceiver of truth, but when the necessary knowledge is withheld, it cannot perceive truth, and consequently the conscience follows the natural tendency and bent of the mind, irrespective of truth. The remedy for a weak and defective conscience, is, to go boldly forward to the truth, and then the conscience will be renovated, along with the other faculties of the mind.

11. *Unreasonable Wishes*.—To aspire to that which nature cannot give, is to condemn ourselves to disappointment and unhappiness. Nothing is so miserable as the life of a discontented and disappointed man. Knowledge is power, and the more real knowledge we acquire, the more power we have. In this way our wishes may be moderated, when disappointment will give place to contentment and happiness.

13. *Obstinacy*.—When the mind is biassed in favour of that which is wrong, we submit to the tyranny of prejudice. Here, again, knowledge of truth is the sure and certain remedy. The way to cure ourselves of this bad habit is, to practise giving in whenever we are wrong. A fortnight's moral drill will cure the most obstinate person of the habit. Only learn to say, " I see you are in the right," and the cure is complete. It is pride that makes us "although convinced, argue still;" and, although the habit is strong and powerful, yet we know of nothing that is easier of cure, for, once the habit is broken, it is impossible to revive it. Such is the nature of light, for, once it is admitted, darkness is gone for ever.

14. *Irreligion*.—Where there is no belief in the existence of truth and justice, there can be no feeling of Responsibility, and where that is wanting, there is no religion. The religious man is a believer in truth, and to believe in truth and its author is to love God. Without the restraints of religion to exercise an authority over us, man is like a ship at sea without a rudder ; but with religion as his friend and support, he can ride out the storms of life in peace and confidence.

15. *Love of Evil*.—The cause of this scourge of the human race, is the want of the knowledge of Good. We must love something, and when knowledge of Good is wanting, we love Evil. Nothing is easier than to set this affection right. We can improve the preaching of the pulpit, and we rejoice to say that this great reformation will now be accomplished, when the Love of Truth will govern the world.

16. *Pleasure and Pain*.—These powerful feelings are ordained so that all the Works and Laws of God might have the tendency to good and perfection. Pleasure follows a good and noble action, and pain a bad or disreputable action. It is true that pain often follows from acts which cannot be called either good or bad. This shows that we ought to look to all our thoughts and doings, seeing that errors in these things produce the pain of regret. We may rely upon it that we cannot neglect even common things without offending the Laws which are the Will of God.

17. *Marriage*.—The most important act of life is, in most cases, determined by Impulse and Self-Will. Instead of making love the

motive for marriage, "suitability" ought to be the object. Love is blind. What is the cause of bad temper but ignorance and delusion? and if that be so, then blind love is one cause of temper. How often do we hear the remark, that the greater the love, the readier people are to quarrel. If people would marry for Good Sense and the Domestic Virtues, they would place their happiness on a more stable foundation than mere love. In one respect, love may be considered a weakness, for when the reasoning powers are strong, love is changed into a sentiment. Ordinary love is an instinct rather than a sentiment, and as man advances in civilization the dominion of instinct decreases. If we could tell the tale of disappointments which have followed love matches we should fill volumes, but we trust we have said enough to show that other motives besides love ought to govern marriage.

18. *Love of Children*.—This feeling, which is likewise an instinct, must not be carried too far. Many parents make themselves slaves to their families, by allowing these feelings to govern them. This weakness not only spoils the children, but is fatal to the peace and happiness of the parents. In remote districts of the country, and particularly in many parts of Scotland and Ireland, the home affections are carried to such excess, that the children are not allowed to leave home, until after they have acquired habits of idleness which they are never afterwards able to overcome.

19. *Dress and Parade*.—Nothing shows an empty mind more than the love of dress and show. Plainness and simplicity are the attributes of good taste. Where the mind is vulgar and uncultivated, the taste is bad, and runs into show and extravagance. The remedy for this evil is the cultivation of the mind, which will purify the taste. Real education will save the pockets of fathers and husbands to an extent they little imagine.

20. *Good Living*.—The mark of civilization is to eat little and seldom. This habit of moderation in eating gives time and capacity to attend to the duties of life, which the habit of constant eating does not. Eating is necessary, but instead of making that the object of life, we must keep it in subordination to the numerous calls of duty which otherwise must either be very imperfectly fulfilled, or entirely neglected. Some people can do nothing without eating and drinking. When any business is to be done, we say—work first, and then eat; for work is the object, and eating can be attended to afterwards. In country houses, the clock-work return of meals is a perfect nuisance. It is a tyranny which interferes with every rational employment and enjoyment, and we hope these hints may have some effect in reducing an evil which exists, more or less, in every class of society.

21. *Love of Money*.—The love of knowledge and moral worth having gone out, the love of money has come in. It is imagined that money can give everything, but those who talk in that way only show their ignorance. Money can only give food, house, and clothing, and that most people have whether rich or poor. Money cannot elevate the character or improve the habits and tastes. Depend upon it, that a well regulated mind is greater riches than all the treasures of the Indies; for, while moral worth can give happiness and contentment, money can give neither.

22. *Amusements.*—So utterly aimless has life become from the want of moral worth, that amusement has come to be the sole aim of life. Money-making is the means, amusement the end of existence. Yes, society has come to that, and of all things amusement and pleasure are the most deceitful. Of all the parties, balls, and excursions that take place, how many produce pleasure, and how many pain and disappointment. Let the votaries of pleasure answer that question, and they will see the folly of such things. The more amusement is stimulated by excursion trains and holidays the more will the love of money and the dislike of labour and diligence increase.

23. *Fashion.*—To follow the leaders of Fashion, requires no thought and involves no responsibility, it is therefore the course taken by the vulgar, who have no capacity for any higher course of action. To act independently of the tyranny of fashion, Self-Reliance is requisite, and that involves thought and discernment. The victim of Fashion is a slave, but the man of moral worth and character is free-born. The one is the sport of every silly story he hears, the other knows what to believe and what to reject. The one declines, while the other is always advancing in knowledge and virtue. These are the two sides of the picture, and we leave our readers to take their choice.

The Manly Character (Self-Reliance) is the manhood of Civilization. Fear not, therefore, to be called eccentric or peculiar, for, to think and act independently, you must be called such. Fear rather to be called a copyist or an imitator. To follow the fashion, as a flock of sheep follow their leaders, is the act of the crowd, but those who rise above mediocrity avoid the crowd and act for themselves. By following public opinion rather than the dictates of our own thoughts we pass life in a vain show, neither changing nor learning anything, and no faculty to know good from evil, or true from false, is created within us.

24. *Good Manners.*—Mental culture accompanied by experience produces good taste, and that is the parent of gentility and good manners. Birth or riches have therefore nothing whatever to do with gentility. We shall often have occasion to deplore the moral dwarfage of the men and women of our day, and the want of Good Manners, which is daily increasing, confirms all we have said. Where there is no moral culture there can be no manners, except such as are hypocritical, artificial, and superficial. Good manners are essential to the comfort and happiness of society, but before society can enjoy that luxury, a reformation in all that affects the thoughts and actions must be carried out. The more we see of the progress of the reformation, the more do we perceive that there is no difficulty in the way, as we have not found any, either high or low, who are not ready to accept the reformed principles when explained to them.

25. *Melancholy.*—To take an interest in self-reformation is the best antidote for melancholy. Reformation being the first principle of life, it is an object which may be extended over the whole term of life. We never can become weary in well-doing, and where progress is there can be no melancholy. Occupation removes melancholy, and as reformation must not be confined to reading and contemplation, but be accompanied by action, an everlasting fund of joy and confidence is opened up to the soul by the new reformation. We have often wondered why weeping

should be so common among the women and even among the men. Do those who give way to such folly know that tears are the letting down of the whole moral system, for the more we give way to crying, the weaker we become. Manliness (self-reliance) and not effeminacy (fashion) must now be the object of both sexes, for nothing but loss can result from encouraging indolence and weakness of any kind. Be strong, therefore, and you will rejoice all your days.

26. *The Soul.*—The object of existence is the enlargement and improvement of the soul. God did not give the soul or cultivated mind originally, for his purpose was to produce that out of its own experience. But if we neglect this duty of cultivating the mind, the object of the world is entirely lost. A soul in the state of nature can scarcely be called a soul at all, for it is only a desert and a wilderness, producing nettles and sour fruit. The Cultivated Soul, on the other hand, is a garden, which yields the fruits of righteousness.

The Emperor Augustus laid it down as a rule never to go to war unless the chances of gain exceeded the chances of loss. The result of following this wise policy was a peace which continued all his reign, extending over a period of forty years. The reason why the Temple of Janus was shut by Augustus, and continued closed for forty years, almost for the first time in the history of ancient times, was the wisdom and moderation of the Emperor, and not from any other cause. The lesson we draw from this bright example is, to adopt "Self-interest," as our rule in determining all questions of Peace or War: To go to war to vindicate our honor, would certainly not be our interest. What is usually taken for honor and glory is, the ravings of those who neither know nor care for the interest of the nations which are to be sacrificed, so that their own personal feelings may be gratified. The history of England is filled with instances of Wars begun and carried on, on no better principle than false honor and glory, and the disastrous result of such Wars has been the destruction of life and property without anything to set against it. But there is another power which is supposed to govern Peace and War independent of all that mortal man can do. That power is sometimes called Fate, sometimes Predestination, and sometimes Fortune, Destiny, or Necessity.

The Greeks and Romans believed in Fortune, which was another name for Predestination. The Christians and Mahometans believe in Predestination, and the Rationalists in Fate and Necessity. We know of no church or party which believe in FREE-WILL—a statement which will surprise many of our readers, but, on reflection it will be found to be literally correct! Now, what is the truth. Are all things governed by Predestination? for, if that is true, there is no use to attempt to make or prevent war, as that will come or go whatever we may do. Now that is utter folly, for it is Man, and not God, who makes War. Any other belief than Free-Will, is opposed to the very existence of Religion and Responsibility. Until we give up all such false notions as to the causes of wars there can be no end of war and misery in the world, for, so long as we believe that we have no power to prevent war, of course war will continue.

We must be honest and consistent in our belief, or all our knowledge will go for nothing. Let us not believe in Free-Will in the abstract, and disbelieve it in its applications. It is our own evil passions which cause war, and if we wish to see war prevented we have only to act upon principle and disregard the dictates of feeling and passion. War then is the rule of the evil passions or nature, and Peace the rule of the intellect or civilization.

The power of thinking has very much gone off. We are so accustomed to read the opinions of the press instead of thinking for ourselves, that we have insensibly lost the power of thought. This fact shows how necessary it is to make the press a responsible institution like any other institution of the country, for on it depends the welfare of our country. We know of no class who read books of any real value, except those who are obliged to read them in carrying out their profession. Literature—what has it come to! Write anything of value, and not a publisher will look at it. But write trash, and the greater trash the better, and they will speak to you. Yes, the people have ceased to have the taste for real knowledge of any kind. Money and amusement is all they appreciate, and real knowledge does not give that of a kind which they can appreciate.

America boasts of her ten thousand newspapers and periodicals, and they have proved so many deceivers, which have brought their country to the verge of ruin. In England we are fast following the footsteps of America, and we shall now state the reason. The Press, as it is now constituted, is an irresponsible body. There is no check upon it, and no encouragement to prefer good to evil. The consequence is, that for the most part, the press is governed by passion and self-will! The only remedy for this fearful evil—which is common to all the nations of Europe, as well as of America—is a censorship. We do not mean direct interference of any kind, but an authorized journal, to comment, weekly, on the opinions of the press, as they appear. Let the *Moniteur* of Paris, the *London Gazette*, and the government paper of every other country devote a portion of their “non-official” space to the criticism of the opinions of the press, and that will raise up an independent and responsible press, worthy of the age in which we live. License is not liberty, and when the errors of our press are reviewed as they ought to be, we shall be able to judge the right and wrong of everything.

The New World, owing to the rapid decline of morality and civilization, which has been silently sapping the foundations of society, is in a state of collapse. But for the able generalship of the ruler of the French people, the Old World would have been in the same position, and if anything should happen to Napoleon before something be done in the way of reformation, European civilization will follow the sad course it has taken in America. In these grave circumstances we shall act wisely if we hasten to build up new institutions fitted to the extraordinary exigencies of the times, to take the place of the old institutions which have spent their force and are ready to die. Let the English Government proceed to the election of a public critic. Let this public servant be liberally paid for his work, and let him be held responsible for all his writings. If the appointments to this new office are made

annually, the public will be in a position to make new appointments whenever they please, so that public opinion will always be able to exercise a proper control.

The necessary result of fashion is to make all men alike, but that is not civilization but a return to nature. Progress in civilization comes exclusively from individual thought and action. Look at the rise of civilization in any state, and you will find it came from individual action, but so long as public opinion and fashion are so powerful as they have become in our day, there can be no heroism or individual action. Look at the origin of any reformation. It begins with one individual. The present movement began with Mr. Alison. When he began, there was not a single person to agree with him; the New Reformation is consequently as much a discovery to the world as the discovery of the planet Neptune. This fact is sufficient of itself to dispel the idea that in moral things there can be nothing new. The idea is utterly absurd, for if there could be nothing new in morals, there can be nothing new in physics. A nation is made up of parts, and unless the parts grow, the nation cannot grow. There may be leaves, but examine society closely and there is no fruit. Test Public Opinion and Fashion by their fruit, and you will know of what value they are.

The grand secret of success in life is to go slow. Be quick and diligent to execute, but slow to design. Always enquire, read, and think before you decide. What would you think of a judge who decided a case before he heard the witnesses? and yet that is the course which most men and women take in the affairs of life. They decide first, and then enquire. How can we expect success, when we act on a principle which can only produce disappointment. When men rise to eminence, it is not in consequence of mental ability, but solely by using the method of thinking first, and after that, deciding. First impressions are supposed to be best, but that is the language of nature not of reason, for first impressions must be wrong if we decide before we read or listen.

We have now completed our survey of the motives, habits, and thoughts of human nature. We have endeavoured to show what is wrong and what is right, and how the former may be reduced to the latter. It is a new attempt, and we have done our best to ensure success, but no doubt the picture will contain faults. These we hope to correct and perfect as we proceed in these Essays, for as yet we know but in part. On a subject which comes within the experience of all, we hope our readers will assist us with any suggestions that may occur to them, that our future Essays may have the benefit of their experience. Our wish is to gather in the opinions of all, and give them forth to the world in a condensed form in the present publication. Already we have received valuable assistance from our friends, and we hope to receive more as we proceed.

The beginning of all reformations is to know the truth, for pride and self-conceit must be humbled, to make room for the new principles. If the mystery which has always surrounded the subject of the Passions is now dissipated in any considerable degree, we may rest assured that the end of the kingdom of Satan, which is DARKNESS, is near at hand.

P R E F A C E .

We live in extraordinary times. Since the world began, perhaps there was never a time in which such great changes were in progress as now. In England we have a moral and religious reformation. In France the same progress is making. In Italy a political reformation has just been consummated, which is, doubtless, the forerunner of a corresponding religious advance. In Prussia a religious reformation is imminent, and as for Austria, she is about to become the scene of vast changes.

If we now pass into Asia, we find Turkey in a very unsettled state. It is the same with India, and as for China, if we may accept the late manifesto of the new King of Nankin as sincere, of which we have no reason to doubt, the Christian Religion is about to supplant the Idolatrous Churches of the East. Such is the transition state of the Old World, and the same may be said of the New World. The great American Republic has just been broken up; and looking to the corruptions which that Confederation has produced, we recognise in that catastrophe the precursor of a great Reformation, political and moral. Such are times in which we live, and in now attempting to give consistency to the Moral and Religious movement going on amongst ourselves, we trust we shall not be accused of entering the field a moment sooner than the times demand.

We have been told that the World is not yet far enough advanced for a True Church, and that we ought to wait until it is better prepared for a reformation, before we propose one; but that is obviously a fallacy; for who can believe without a preacher? The mission of reformers is both to prepare the soil and sow the seed; for it is impossible that the Church and the World can be improved, unless reformers come forward to tell the truth, and so produce a reformation.

PREFACE.

We have had no reformers since the times of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, but now the good work of reformation is happily renewed. We have hewn out to ourselves broken cisterns, which can hold no water ; and now, in our necessity, we are obliged to replace the faulty vessels with such as may be good and true. Whether we look at the Church, at Politics, at Literature, at Education, at Commerce, or at anything else, we find nothing but disappointment, and hopeless complications. The universal cry is for a Reformation ; and to the call, "who will show us any good?" we cannot turn an inattentive ear. We have faith in Truth, and in the capacity of Man to receive it when it is fairly brought under his notice, and although the work we have undertaken be an arduous one, we feel assured, that if we use the means at our command, we shall reap the desired harvest.

Rome was not built in a day ; neither will error and evil be rooted out all at once, but we shall plant the seeds of reformation deep in the ground, and if we do not see the work finished, we shall have the consolation of knowing that we have done our duty, in bequeathing to our children a legacy of which they shall reap the fruits.

It will be observed, that the "New Reformation" is altogether Conservative, for true reform is only another word for true conservatism ; and, trusting to the righteousness of our cause, and the good sense and public spirit of the people of England, we respectfully submit these pages to their consideration.

25, CONDUIT STREET, LONDON,

February 16th, 1861.

THE NEW REFORMATION SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

THIS Society has been formed for the purpose of promoting a General Reformation throughout the United Kingdom and the Colonies. The want of an institution of this kind has long been felt, for none of the existing Societies occupy a field of operations sufficiently wide to meet the daily increasing wants of the country. This great movement may be said to have arisen from three distinct causes, all of which have come from the prolonged absence of Reform of the Articles of Religion. The first Cause is the rapid progress of Supernaturalism and Puritanism among the middle and industrial classes, of which the Revival Movement, as it is called, is the evidence. The next cause is one in the opposite direction, namely, the progress of Necessitarianism and Rationalism among a portion of the higher classes. The third cause is the unsatisfactory state of our Ecclesiastical and Educational establishments, which cannot be improved until a general Reformation is produced in the public mind in the direction of Unity and Concord.

The principles of the Society are, the recognition of the Authority and Inspiration of Scripture, and of the Divinity of Christ. Occupying an independent position, we shall act impartially towards all parties. Having no party objects to serve, we shall feel ourselves at liberty to communicate freely with all parties, with the object of uniting them on the neutral ground of Reform.

The Society will co-operate with kindred societies throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies, with the object of producing a simultaneous and harmonious movement among all classes and denominations of Protestants. Although the Society's operations will be exclusively confined to the Established Church, yet as all churches have a direct interest in the Reform of the National Faith, Protestants of all denominations are expected to take part in the movement.

The Constitution of the Church comprises, first, the Thirty-nine Articles, containing the Creed of the Church; second, the Prayer Book, comprising the Services of the Church; and third, the Canons, or the Acts of the Crown and Convocation, constituting the Church. To begin right, is almost to end right; and in beginning with the reform

of the Articles, which form the basis of the Church's Constitution, the remedy will be applied at the source from which all the evils which afflict the Church spring.

Immediately after the passing of the Church Reform Bill by the Crown and Parliament, the Society will take up the subject of Reforms in the Prayer Book, Services, and Canons. They will likewise turn their attention to Educational Reform; but until the Reform Bill of the Articles is passed, it would be premature to enter on these subjects. It will be observed, that the movement is entirely a religious one, and in no respect political. This is a hopeful circumstance; for, although the necessary changes are great and numerous, yet, owing to their non-political character, there is the prospect of the Bill passing through Parliament with the consent of all parties. We desire no controversy or agitation, and unless the opponents of Reform provoke such, there will be none.

Prevention is ever better than Cure, and the new Reformation is essentially preventive. We spend above six millions annually on our poor, raised by compulsory assessment, and double that sum by voluntary contributions. We spend some millions on our courts of justice and reformatories, many millions on superfluous drinkables, several millions on hospitals and such-like, and a sum more than all these twice told, on useless schemes arising from ignorance and delusion. We do not say that the whole of this vast expenditure of capital will be saved by the reformation, but this we may say, that a moiety of these sums will certainly be saved when our moral and religious creeds are placed on the basis of liberty and truth.

Incredulity has often deprived the world of untold riches, and in now asking the public to place faith in Truth and Justice, and in the bountiful provisions of Providence, we feel assured that the result, great and glorious as it may be, will not fall short of all we have said. Let it not be imagined that we are increased with goods and have need of nothing more; for while the few are rich the many are poor, and in advocating the claims of the Reformation we seek not the interests of those who have need of nothing, but rather of those who are in want of all things, for Religion and Civilization will not be complete until their blessings are extended to all classes of the community.

The Revenue of the Society will be derived from the sale of the books and tracts which it proposes to publish, and from voluntary subscriptions which already amount to a sum sufficient to meet preliminary expenses. General meetings of the Society will be called from time to time, of which due notice will be given by advertisement. The object of the first meeting will be, to elect office-bearers, and to appoint a committee to draw up the Revised Articles of Religion to be attached to the proposed Bill. Gentlemen in London and elsewhere, desiring to join the Society, are requested to send in their names by letter, to the Secretary, MR. M. W. MILES, at the Society's Office.

The Reform of the Church will be the counterpart of all the Reforms carried out during the last forty years—a consummation which will perhaps be recognised by succeeding generations as the Magna Charta of England's Religious Liberty. If we may estimate the good

results of this great Reformation by the importance of the changes proposed, and the ages which have elapsed before the proposal could be made with any prospect of success, we may be assured that they will exceed all that the heart of man can conceive.

LONDON, *December 18th*, 1860.

CHURCH REFORM BILL.

Draft of an Act of the Crown, to amend an Act of the Crown, passed in the Reign of James the First, 1603, anent the affairs of the Church.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in virtue of our PREROGATIVE ROYAL in Causes Ecclesiastical, and with the advice and consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops and Clergy of the Church, Do hereby ORDAIN and DECREE, subject to the consent of the Houses of Parliament, the REFORMATION of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the Church, and that in the manner following:—

First. That in place of the Thirty-nine Articles, originally enacted by Henry VIII, amended and re-enacted by Elizabeth in 1571, and finally ordained by James I, in 1603, the Thirty-nine NEW ARTICLES annexed hereto shall henceforth constitute the Creed of the Church.

Second. That after the Ratification of this Act by Convocation and Parliament, no Clergyman shall be admitted to Orders until he has first subscribed the New Articles.

Third. Notwithstanding the subscriptions to the Articles, the Clergy shall be entitled to hold their own private opinions (the right of private judgment), so that those private opinions do not amount to a practical nullification of the Articles as a whole.

Lastly. It shall be competent to the Clergy now in Orders to subscribe the “New Articles,” and thereby free themselves from the obligations of their present subscriptions; but those Clergymen who prefer to hold the Old Articles shall be entitled to do so, in which case, such Clergymen shall not be bound by the “New Articles,” but remain bound by the Old Articles.

FORM OF PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, (and a Petition to the House of Commons to the same effect.)

HUMBLY SHEWETH—

Your petitioners, inhabitants of the City (or Borough, or Parish) of _____ are of opinion that the time has come for a complete Reformation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, so as to place the National Faith on a basis more in harmony with Scripture and Experience, than is the case with the existing Articles.

Your Petitioners believe that when the Thirty-nine Articles are reformed on the principles contained in the publications of the Reformation Society of London, those Religious Animosities, so destructive of independent thought and of social peace and liberty, would be entirely removed.

Your petitioners further believe, that the reform of the Articles, in restoring unity and concord to the Church, would open the way for those Reforms in the Prayer Book and Services, and in the Educational Institutions of the Country, on which the further progress of Religion and Civilisation seems to depend.

May it therefore please your Honourable House, to take this important matter into consideration, and to lay a Petition before Her Gracious Majesty, praying her to take such steps as she may think fit, for the Reformation of the Thirty-nine Articles, upon the principles herein set forth. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

“Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward.”

The Church is the only unreformed portion of the State; for since 1559, when Elizabeth came to the throne, it has not been reformed. Now as the Church happens to be the chief element in Civilization, our attention must be mainly directed to it; for to reform the Church as it ought to be reformed, is almost to reform and complete Civilization. It is clear that we must look to the Laity, in the first instance, for Church reform. If a Catholic writes on the Church, he only magnifies the infallibility of his own Church; and if a Protestant writes, he advocates the views of his own party.

Religious Animosities have for the most part extinguished all independent thought. To remain blind to our own faults, and alive to the faults of others, is the characteristic of our times. Before this morbid state of the public mind can be improved, men must be taught to distinguish truth from error. When men begin to correct their own opinions, by thinking independently and without reference to this creed or that, they will see less to complain of in others, and thus will toleration and love be increased. True religion teaches Love to others, and seeing that Religion has hitherto taught men rather to dislike each other, we have a practical proof that something is radically wrong. With this fact before us, surely we must be blind indeed if we see not in a New Reformation the germ of a bright future in the history of this country. If there was no such thing as Truth, and if every man was not endowed with the faculty of perceiving Truth when fairly brought under his notice, there would be no remedy for Erroneous Opinions; but seeing that Truth is a reality, there is no excuse for the present non-progressive state of Civilization.

Mr. Baden Powell says that no man can prove a Miracle of the Bible. But as he might as truly say that no man can disprove a Miracle, the statement goes for nothing. To go into historical questions such as these, is only to take up the attention of the Church, with that which cannot possibly be settled one way or the other ; and instead of such a course leading to concord and unity, it must have the opposite effect. It is strange that discussions on Religion should have always turned on the question *whether the Bible be a revelation from God, or not*,—of which Paley's Evidences, down to Rawlinson's Bampton's Lectures, are examples—and not on the question of Doctrine. Whether this be accidental, or done with the object of diverting attention from the question of Reform of Doctrine, we cannot say ; but whether it be accidental or intentional, one thing is certain—that it has had the effect of keeping the World in the dark as to its true interests.

There are two ideas which very few minds can take in at the same time. One is, that Scripture is an inspiration of God ; and the other, that man may have misrepresented, misinterpreted, and misapplied Scripture. The two things are perfectly compatible, and yet we have seldom met any who can accept the self-evident proposition. Let the reader boldly examine Scripture, and he will find *that he may reform his Creed without rejecting his Bible or his Religion*. To act upon the principle of either accepting the Bible as it is now interpreted and applied, or to reject it altogether, is as illogical as to say that because we cannot know everything we can know nothing. Reformation is the course we take in every other affair of life, and why we should treat religion either as everything that is good and perfect, or nothing at all, is the greatest folly imaginable. We all know and acknowledge that Religion is not perfect, and that, being so, why should we refuse to reform and perfect it ? Why seek its destruction until we have first proved that it cannot be reformed ? What should we think of a politician who assumed that the British Parliament could not be reformed, and who therefore proposed to abolish it ? and if that is folly, the folly of those who refuse to look into the facts upon which Religion stands, and who, in ignorance of these facts, assume that it cannot be reformed, is equally great.

Three different paths are open to us. The first is to remain as we are, and see the World go on from one folly to another in an endless circle. The second is to ignore Religion altogether, and then we shall have the World worse than ever. The third is to keep our Bible, and conform our Religious belief to it, and that, we think, is the only course consistent with True Religion.

At the Christian Era there existed three great parties : 1st, the Pharisees, whose religion was hypocrisy ; 2nd, the Sadducees, whose religion was scepticism ; and 3rd, the Christians, who took a middle course, rejecting hypocrisy on the one hand and scepticism on the other. Such was the state of the World in the first century, and it is practically the same now in the nineteenth century. We have 1st, the Anti-Reform party, who are contented to remain as they are, and in rejecting Reform assume that they are perfect ; 2nd, the Ration-

alist party; and 3rd, the Reform party, who advocate a Reformation on the principles of the Gospel.

The Christian Religion is a religion of love—Love to God, and Love to our fellow men. The Jewish Religion is a Religion of fear, on which the Catholic Church is built—hell-fire and purgatory being the great instruments used to compel obedience. The Protestant Church is an improvement on the Catholic Church, for it acts upon love more than fear; but it is not perfect, and requires to be further reformed by passing more completely from fear to love. We have been accustomed to interpret the New Testament by the Old Bible, an error which almost entirely nullifies the Gospel. It is clear that we are bound to invert this order, and interpret the Old Testament by the Gospel. We all know that the last document modifies or annuls all previous documents in the affairs of life, and we have only to apply this self-evident principle in reading the two Books of Revelation, to come to the Knowledge of what the Christian Religion really is.

The World was originally created Good and Perfect, as a means to an end, and it is left to man to develope and complete its destiny as a Civilized World. Original Evil, or Want, is the means by which Man is compelled to exert himself, and so convert an uncivilized World into a civilized World. Man cultivates External Nature, and turns a barren wilderness into a fruitful field. He cultivates the Mind, and turns a field overgrown with weeds into a fruitful garden.

The doctrine of Original Sin is arrived at by reading the allegory of the Fall in a literal manner, but as that doctrine is opposed to the doctrine of the Perfection of God in goodness and power, it is necessary to reject it. If God could not prevent Satan from ruining mankind, that would indicate a want of Power, and if he did not prevent Satan's work, that involves the want of Goodness; so that, in any case, the doctrine must be given up. As our Saviour never alludes to "Original Sin," it is quite certain that that doctrine forms no part of Christianity.

It is because Church reformers ignore the question of Doctrine that not the slightest approach to a settlement has been made for the last twenty years, although compromises of every possible description have been offered, first by one party and then by the other. The Clergy have yet to learn that reform involves sacrifice; and until all parties are prepared to sacrifice error on the altar of truth no progress can be made.

This is an age of discovery and invention greater than that of the sixteenth century. Now what does all this progress mean? Is it to stop here, or to carry us forward to a corresponding moral advance? This question will be answered if we look to the experience of the past. Invention and discovery in the sixteenth century were immediately followed by a moral advance,—the Reformation of Luther; and if this, the second age of discovery, is not followed by a second Reformation, such a result will be altogether opposed to experience and the natural sequence of cause and effect.

On reference to an Article on "The Revival Movement," as it is called, in the *North British Review*, lately published, the fearful progress of that malady in all parts of the United Kingdom, will be seen. The

Movement began in America in 1857; and crossed over to Ireland in the following year, and now in England and Scotland it is all but universal. The mind of the people is being broken down and demoralized by the follies of Supernaturalism, and we all know that it would require almost a miracle to restore minds once demoralized to a healthy state. Not a day must be lost to arrest the evil, and nothing can remove it but by placing our Articles of Belief on a basis which will give no countenance to such false views of Religion. The Gospel is Miraculous in its origin, but the effect of the Gospel on the soul is natural. This fact proves that Conversion is not a miracle at all, but Natural. There being no evidence of Miracles, either internal or external, since New Testament times, as the doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration and Election involve Miraculous Conversions, they must be rejected. Love to Christ furnishes the motive for obedience to the precepts of the Gospel; and with that Motive every man is able to work out his own Salvation, for there is no such thing as Miraculous Conversions.

The fact that the Protestant Churches have not made a single Reform of Doctrine for the last three hundred years, proves how lifeless and unfruitful the Churches are. Unless we are prepared to assert that the Protestant Creed is perfect and free from error, what we have now said must be true. The fact is, Religion consists not merely in remaining contented with the faith we already possess, but in adding to our Faith new and better Doctrines, for unless the Soul grows as well as lives, it must be dormant and fruitless.

To raise the Character of the Individual is the banner of the New Reformation. Under its influence our little men will become great, and our weak men strong; strong in counsel and strong in action. The national character will be raised, and the influence of the Reformation will cross the Channel and perhaps induce other nations to follow our example. Controversy and War followed Luther's reformation; but the New Reformation is Peace. Contradictions produce controversy and war, and such was the result of Luther's imperfect work. The first reformation was based, not on principle, but on compromise; but the glory of the New Reformation is, that it is based on Truth. Such is the wide difference between the two reformations, and that difference is sufficient to account for the failure of the one and the predicted success of the other.

It is not unusual to hear Evangelical preachers state from the pulpit, that the effect of the Gospel on the soul is wholly *natural*; and, as for the High Church, that is the avowed doctrine of the party. Now, all that is wanting to produce the desired Reformation is, that the Church shall give its corporate sanction to that great doctrine, and annul all other doctrines which trench upon it. Such may be regarded as the dawn of the New Reformation, a great and glorious light, which was unknown to the Church in any former period of her history. The grand difficulty in all reformations is to find a scheme of Reform which will be generally acceptable. What remains after that is comparatively easy. With Books, Newspapers, and Tracts, to publish the new principles, as seeds scattered broadcast over the land, a visible improvement in the Opinions and

Manners of all classes—from the cottage up to the drawing-room—will speedily be effected. The tone of our pulpit ministrations will improve, and the character of the people will be nourished and refreshed, like the land after a long and dreary winter. It was a glorious day when Elizabeth came to the throne, and set the conscience and the intellect comparatively free. It was more than a repetition of that day, when William III. met his people in St. James's, and congratulated them on their victory over Rome; and it will be a thrice glorious day when Victoria enters St. Paul's and gives her hearty assent to a Church Reform Bill, embodying the principles of the New Reformation.

The Catholics speak of the Protestants as heretics, and the Protestants treat the Catholics no better, for they consider the Catholics Antichrist and the Scarlet Lady. But this is not all, for one class of Protestants consider another class mere professors, devoid of all vital religion; while these very professors retort on their accusers that they who consider themselves the favourites of Heaven, are quite as insincere as themselves. These being the facts of the case, we ask where does all this Intolerance come from? We answer, that it arises from the prevalence of Error in our own opinions. Those who have no errors to uphold are never intolerant, for to such truth is ever pleasant and welcome; but to those who indulge in error truth produces anger and resentment.

If Devotion were the test of truth, the Irish are the most religious of the British people, the Scotch the next, and the English the least religious of all. But it is certain that "Devotion" is not a test of truth, for a Brahmin is more devout than a Mahometan, a Mahometan professedly more religious than a Catholic, and a Catholic apparently more pious than a Protestant. In these circumstances we must look for some better test than "Devotion." We should say, that the nation which is least Intolerant, and acts most faithfully upon the principles of Christianity, is the most religious.

True Opinions produce Sincerity, or faith and practice in unison; consequently error must produce hypocrisy, or faith and practice at variance. The reason why error produces hypocrisy, is that we cannot carry error into practice without being ashamed of it, we therefore cover over our thoughts and actions with the cloak of hypocrisy. Give us true and consistent opinions, and we may almost answer for it that the actions will be in accordance with them. It is because no Church has never yet adopted a creed entirely free from error, that hypocrisy so much abounds in the world. It therefore follows that any general improvement of the world must be preceded by a reformation of doctrine.

The Law of Toleration is as necessary to peace and progress as the law of jurisprudence; and looking to the evils which the constant violation of that law of liberty in every age has led,—and in no age more than in our own,—it is to be regretted that no Court of Justice should have been set up to enforce obedience to it, similar to that which has happily been established for the protection of life and property. To take away a man's character or reputation because he freely and honestly expresses his opinions, or because he is not so great a hypocrite as others, is surely as great a crime as theft, for what is

life without character? The Conscience is the divine means for maintaining Toleration; but that means is insufficient in the earlier stages of Civilization, for then Conscience is weak. What is the history of the Middle Ages but the history of wars and persecutions arising from Intolerance, showing how much a Court of Law, to protect liberty of thought and discussion, was then wanted. We do not propose to establish a Court of Justice for the protection of liberty of discussion in this country, for there is a much more simple way of effecting that object,—viz., the Reformation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church. When that Reform becomes the law of the land, the Law of Toleration will receive legislative effect, and no one will then have to complain of the want of Liberty of Thought and Discussion.

CHAPTER III.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

“Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free.”

The following extract from Mr. Alison's Work on Civilization places the question of Catholicism in its true light.

“The Popedom attained the zenith of its power in 1207, in the reign of Innocent III., notorious for his cruelty and ambition. Then for the first time the Pope became a King, and claimed the sovereignty over Central Italy, the greater portion of which has been lost to the Church in our day (1860). Once more was Rome mistress of the world, having only exchanged the title of Emperor for that of Pope. The dogma on which the usurpation of Rome rests, is a saying of our Lord to St. Peter: “On this rock will I build my church; and behold, I am with you to the end of the world.” The reply to this claim is, of course, that the Catholic Church is not the only Church of Christ, and as she does not represent the Gospel in its purity, she has no right to take these words of our Lord to herself, far less to assume that they were addressed to her exclusively. But this claim is disproved by her own words, those of the last, the greatest, and the best of the Fathers, Gregory the Great. Fortunately a letter of St. Gregory remains, which is so important that I shall give it:—

“‘The Bishop of Rome, to The Bishop of Constantinople.

“‘This I declare with confidence, that whosoever designates himself Universal Priest, or in the pride of his heart consents to be so called, is the forerunner of Antichrist.’ Rome, A.D. 590.

“The Greek Church, which includes Syria and Jerusalem, existed in great power and splendour for centuries before the Roman Church was more than a mere province dependent on the Greek Church. The Greek Church laid claim to be a Universal or Catholic Church, and it was to refute that usurpation that Gregory wrote the letter I have quoted. That important document proves two things: 1st, that if there exists a Universal Church, the Greek and not the Roman, is that

Universal Church ; and 2nd, that neither the Greek nor the Roman Church is entitled to assume any such authority."

The Catholic Church, always alive to the signs of the times, will soon perceive that to oppose the New Reformation will be hopeless in her present unreformed condition. She will therefore proceed to reform herself. What the impending reform of the Catholic Church will be we cannot pretend to say ; but that it will be a great advance in the direction of truth and liberty there is no doubt. The extent of this reform will of course depend upon the character and extent of the Protestant Reform, for it will be such as is calculated to keep the Catholic Church together. While the reform of the Catholic Church may be expected to fall short of that of the Protestant Church, it will be a substantial reform ; and every right-minded man will rejoice in such a result, although it may come short of all that is to be desired.

We have had enough of Church controversies and wars ; let us in the nineteenth century be wiser in our generation than our ancestors of the sixteenth century. The several powers of Europe have learnt to live together in brotherly fellowship, although no two nations are equally advanced in liberty. And why should not the spiritual powers of Europe do the same, although no two Churches are equal in point of purity ? There is no reason why they should not ; and if the reformed Church acts upon its own principle of Toleration, such may be expected to be their policy towards their Catholic brethren. And in seeking to extend the blessings of truth and liberty to all the world, we shall tolerate the existence of all Churches, Sects, and Opinions.

It is generally imagined that all reformations must in the first instance emanate from the people ; but when we examine history we find the reverse to be the fact. The Reformation of Germany in the sixteenth century came from the princes and statesmen of Germany, aided by Luther and others of the clergy ; and we all know that the Reformation of England commenced with the King, aided by Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer. This is only what was to be expected, for it is impossible to imagine that the people could originate anything so comprehensive as a general reformation. For this reason the New Reformation must in all probability be taken up in high quarters in the first instance, and from thence come down to the people.

The temporal and spiritual powers of the Popedom came together, and it is most probable they will go together. It may soon be said of these two powers, that in their lives they have been united and in their deaths they are not divided. It was Hildebrand and his immediate successors who, in the thirteenth century, raised the Popedom to the height of power in spiritual and temporal things which it has ever since maintained. For nearly six centuries the hierarchy of Rome has lorded it over the consciences of Europe, and if the present opportunity—when the Pope is about to lose his temporal power—be allowed to pass, without at the same time depriving the Papacy of its power as Universal Priest, the reformation of Garibaldi will not be permanent.

It will be useful to trace the probable proceedings of the Church of Rome under the new circumstances in which she is placed by the Political Reformation of 1860 on the Continent, and the Religious

Reformation of England. Let us go back to the history of the sixteenth century for our materials. The Reformation of Luther began about the year 1518. The Council of Trent was called in 1545, for the purpose of reforming the Catholic Church, and after sitting for eighteen years, it rose in 1563. Now, what was the cause of the calling of this Council, but the Reformation of Luther? In saying that the advent of a New Reformation will produce the calling of a General Council of the Catholic Church, in our day, in each of the Catholic Countries of Europe, we only indicate a coming event of vast importance to the World, which is inevitable, for a further Reform of one moiety of the Christian World, is certain to produce a similar result on the other moiety. In speaking of the "New Reformation" as belonging exclusively to the Protestant Church, we take a very short-sighted view of the movement, for it must embrace the Catholic, as well as the Protestant World within its grasp. Now what are the Reforms which the impending General Councils of the Catholic Church have to deal with? We can only afford room to mention a few of them.

The Catholics, both lay and clerical, are characterised by great liberality as regards Secular Knowledge, but unfortunately their Church possesses no Code of Articles answering to our Thirty-Nine Articles. The first thing, therefore, to be done is to construct and legalize a Code of Belief for the Catholic Church. When that is done, a mass of Priestly Doctrines and obsolete Rites and Ceremonies, which serve no other purpose but to divert the attention of the people from vital Religion, will pass away. The Light of the Intellect must be allowed to enter the Catholic Church before that Church can recover its lost influence over the World; and we trust the publications of this Society will be useful in pointing out, from time to time, how the Catholic Church may be renovated and perfected. 1. The fiction as to the Power of the Keys must be given up,—a dogma which rests on no evidence whatever, and the sooner it is abandoned the better. 2. Belief in Modern Miracles must pass away. 3. The Priests must be allowed to marry, like other men. 4. The Prayer Book must be translated into the Modern Languages. 5. The Confessional, perhaps the worst feature that ever disgraced any Church, must be given up. 6. Belief in Purgatory and in the efficacy of Penance and Monastic Vows, must cease.

Let not the Catholic Church boast of her antiquity, which does not exceed ten centuries, for the Jewish Church (which still exists in undiminished vigour) boasts of a history of forty centuries, proving that age is not a Test of Truth. The time has passed away when any Religion can subsist on the history of the past. A new order of things has happily commenced, in which the works of the Fathers will not avail. The Catholics have yet to learn that the future is not a mere development of the past. It is strange that the Catholics should have to learn this truth, seeing that they are believers in FREE WILL, and if they will only be consistent in such belief they will perceive the folly of resting their Faith and Church on what the Fathers have said or done. They, like the Protestants, must bring every Doctrine to the light of Truth and Evidence, and make the necessary reforms which such light may dictate, if they wish to hold their position as a Church, distinct from the Protestant Church.

Our Catholic Brethren must be quite aware, that, in offering these remarks, we are animated by the best feelings towards them, for we do not propose a Reformation in the Catholic Church, without at the same time proposing that of the Protestant Church. One-fourth of Her Majesty's subjects are Catholics, we cannot, therefore, be indifferent to their interests. Although it is beyond the sphere of the Reformation Society to take any active steps to promote a Reformation of the Catholic Church, yet, at the same time, we should not feel ourselves justified in allowing so important an element as the Catholic Church to pass unnoticed.

The reason why it is so difficult to refute the Catholics in theory, is, that our own Creed is faulty; but once let that be purified and placed on the rock of truth and consistency, and the errors of Rome will pass away like a tale that is told. It is because Error cannot cast out Error, that the Reform of Protestantism must precede that of Catholicism, and in saying that the reform of the Protestant Church is the proper antidote for the errors of Rome, we only state a truth, which we hope these pages will prove to the satisfaction of every candid reader.

Truth ever lies between extremes, and it is so with Religion. While the Catholics do not spiritualize the Gospel sufficiently, the Calvinists spiritualize it over much, and between these extremes lies the Truth. Religion has always moved in one great circle. It began with Judaism, out of which came Catholicism, and out of Catholicism came Protestantism—a Church which is ever apt to return to the place whence it came—Catholicism and Judaism. And in now going boldly forward to a New Reformation in the direction of TRUTH—which stands in the centre of the circle, inviting the surrounding Churches to come to it, we arrive at the safe anchorage of REFORMED PROTESTANTISM.

The High Church being built on Free-Will and the Works of Regeneration, its theology is more practical and truthful than the theology of the Low Church, which is built on Predestination, the negative of free-will and the works of man. As regards Conversion, both parties are equally at fault, for both derive Conversion from Internal Miracles—the one from Baptismal Regeneration, and the other from Election. Such being the comparative merits of the two parties, it is plain that a middle party (the Reform party), which repudiates the errors of both, is that which every consistent Christian ought to represent and encourage.

The Reformation of Luther was effected by spiritualizing certain passages of the Bible, such as "This is my body;" and it will be by pursuing the same course still further that the New Reformation will be effected. The fault which Luther committed was in making changes of doctrine arbitrarily, and not upon principle. To this error the Protestants owe all the dissensions and controversies which have ever marked their course; but that will be studiously avoided now,—for the New Reformation will spiritualize the Bible on principle by means of a Test of Truth. Such are the glorious prospects which the New Reformation opens up to the World, a Reformation which will be felt in the Catholic Church quite as much as in the Protestant Church.

CHAPTER IV.

SCRIPTURE INTERPRETED.

“Go on to Perfection.”

If we are asked what the Articles of Religion are, that we should think it necessary to organise a Society to promote their revision, we answer, that until these Articles are reformed, neither public opinion, religion nor civilization can be improved or advanced. The following words from Professor Sedgwick give a melancholy picture of the present state of Moral Science. “It is unfortunate that there is no English work on Moral Science which is unexceptionable in its principles.” Now, what is the reason why no author has ever yet been able to write an unexceptionable book on Morals, but the existence of an exceptionable code of Religion on the Statute-book of the Church? It is obvious that no author, either lay or clerical, can write independently on Morals or Religion, so long as the Thirty-nine Articles contain Error, of which the numerous inconsistencies and incongruities to be found within them, are the proof.

Professor Sedgwick further states, “that Natural Religion is the necessary basis of Revealed Religion,—if the foundation of our Belief will not bear the most searching examination of Reason, it seems to be impossible that our Religion should remain secure, or have any continued acceptance, as the ground of hope or the rule of life.” We trust these preliminary remarks will be a sufficient apology on the part of the Reformation Society, for proposing the Revision of the Articles, on a basis adequate to that which the learned Professor has laid down in his Work on “The Studies of the University of Cambridge.” The Reform of the Thirty-nine Articles, will be to the Church, both Lay and Clerical, what the Electoral Reform Bill of 1832 was to the State. We do not, of course, mean to say that the Reformation of the Articles is in itself Reform,—any more than we should say that the Electoral Reform Bill was Reform. But this we do affirm most positively, that the reform of the Thirty-nine Articles, on the principles of truth and consistency, will assuredly remove *all difficulties* in the way of Church and Educational Reform, by the Reformation of Public Opinion, which it involves.

Of God.—God is a Spirit, invisible, omnipresent, and eternal, who created all things by the word of His Power. Nothing, which is not contrary to God’s own nature, is impossible with Him. All Theology, as the word itself signifies, rests on our conception of God, and, accordingly, the perfection of the Divine Attributes constitutes the proper test of Theological Doctrine. By applying this searching and comprehensive test, there is no difficulty in discerning truth from error in the doctrines of Religion.

Nature.—The system of Nature under which we live is the creation of God, by whom it is continually sustained and preserved, and that

system, both mental and physical, is governed on the principle of general laws. Man is apt to imagine that such cannot really be the invariable government of God; but when we remember that our Maker is a just God, and that a system of general laws is the only conceivable system which would deal out equal justice to all, we become convinced that such is really the method of the Divine Government.

Miracles.—With the exception of the miracles of the Bible, there is no evidence of miracles, either external or internal, since the Canon of Scripture was closed. As miracles are an exception to a general rule, evidence is necessary to establish a miracle; and, in the absence of all such evidence, we are bound to reject all belief in Modern Miracles, either spiritual or material.

Object of the World.—The object of the world is, the production of the Matured Soul; and to produce a Soul good and true, we must be careful how we use the abilities with which we have been endowed, and the opportunities we enjoy for self-improvement; for, on the right use of these blessings, depends the progress of the Soul.

Immortality.—The Soul is Immortal. It came forth from God, with nothing beyond the capacity of becoming a Matured Soul in this life; and it will return to God with a Character inscribed on it, and live with Him to all Eternity.

Free-Will and Responsibility.—Unless Man is a Free Agent, he is not a Responsible Being, for without liberty there can be no responsibility. This is a truth which all who cavil at the doctrine of free-will would do well to consider, for, in denying or limiting free-will, we thereby deny man's responsibility. In this manner, we reduce man to a mere machine, the slave of circumstances, and the echo of his Maker's will. Nor is this all; for, to deny free-will, is to make God the author of Evil; for, if man exercises no independent will, it is God and not man who is responsible for all the evil in the world. The proof of free-will is the power of choosing and judging, and the proof of responsibility is the Conscience, or the existence of Truth, and these proofs are universal, and common to all men.

The basis of the Mind, which may be likened to a machine, is carried on by general laws, but that machine is worked by an independent Will. This double nature of the human mind, in which CAUSATION as well as WILL is observed, has given rise to the fallacy of NECESSITY, on the one hand, and PREDESTINATION, on the other. All experience proves man to be a Free Agent, and if he will not use his Free-Will, it is his own fault, for assuredly he actually possesses that power. So long as the Church remains in doubt on this fundamental point, we cannot be surprised at the want of fruits; for, until we know that we possess the power to improve, we cannot improve.

The Trinity.—God manifests Himself to the World in three different ways. As the Father, God is manifested in the works of Creation and Providence. As the Son, He is manifested in Jesus Christ, the Mediator and pledge of Reconciliation. And as the Holy Ghost, He is manifested in the Souls of all believers. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." "I will send the Comforter unto you, even the Spirit of Truth."—JOHN xiv.

Evil and its Remedy.—All Nature begins with Evil and Error, and goes forward to Good and Truth. It is only by the eradication of Evil and Error, that Truth, and all that is Good, can be reached. It was to proclaim this universal truth, and to point out the Remedy for the evils which this constitution of the World involves, that Christ came into the World. The race of man is born in Darkness, and it is only by degrees, by the progress of Truth and Justice, that man begins to see the Light, and to rejoice in the liberty wherewith Christ has promised to set the World free. “Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you Free.”

The Old Testament.—This book is chiefly a history of the dealings of God with the Jews. The Old Bible has almost no reference to the Nations of Christendom; and, accordingly, it is only to be read by Christians as illustrative of the New Testament. The Religion of the Old Testament consists mainly of burnt offerings, rites, and ceremonies, which the Saviour and His Apostles declared to be useless and burdensome. It is manifest that if the Religion of the Old Testament is to be kept up, there would be no room for the Religion of the New Testament, for we cannot serve two masters. Christ said that He had come, not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, and what was the fulfilling of the Law but the Law of Love. “Love is the fulfilling of the Law.”—*Romans*, xiii. 10.

Secular Knowledge.—It is necessary to add Knowledge to Faith; for man does not live by bread alone, as we are told by the Saviour. It has been imagined, that the knowledge of the Bible is alone sufficient for Salvation, and that the knowledge of Nature and Experience is not essential; but when we consult the sayings of our Lord, we find that the Church has erred greatly in this respect. If we read the Book of Revelation, without at the same time reading the Book of Nature, we can neither understand the one or the other. The same Bible which only produces a partial Revelation in a dark age, produces a more perfect Revelation in an enlightened age, for although the Bible does not change, the capacity of man to interpret the Bible does change, showing that Religion, both natural and revealed, is progressive. The Reformation of Luther was the interpretation of the Scripture of the sixteenth century; and it is because Secular knowledge has greatly advanced since that period, that a new and better interpretation now becomes possible.

The New Testament.—The New Testament consists of twenty-seven books, written by eight of the Apostles. As these writings were published to the world four centuries later than the last written books of the Old Testament, it follows that the New Testament must qualify, or entirely annul, the Old Testament. Accordingly, we shall do violence to the testimony of our blessed Lord, if we do not use the New Testament as the interpreter of the Old Testament. On comparing all the books of the New Testament with each other, it will be found that the Gospel message is LOVE and SELF-DENIAL; and if we keep this two-fold principle in view, we shall find no difficulty in interpreting Scripture.

Religion.—True Religion consists in thinking or believing aright,

and in acting in accordance with that Belief. Such being the true definition of Religion, it follows, that man, in being justified by his Religion, is justified, not by faith alone, but by Faith and Works, or in thinking and acting aright.

Object of Religion. — Regeneration is the object of Religion. Church-going, or Ordinances, is neither Religion nor its object; for these are only the Means of Religion. It is that change of Heart and Soul, the natural results of Regeneration, which is the object of Religion.

Conversion. — Conversion means Regeneration or Reformation. This change, which is gradual, and operates in a variety of degrees in different persons, is produced in the Soul by the natural operation of the Gospel. While the Gospel is miraculous in its origin, the effect of the Gospel on the Soul is entirely natural. New and better feelings are produced in the regenerated mind, and these new feelings are natural. It is by confounding these two things, which are quite distinct, that all the misunderstandings and schisms in the Church have arisen. If Conversion and Regeneration are not natural, they must be miraculous, seeing that there is no halfway-house between nature and miracle. It is above all things necessary, that a clear and definite conception of this truth be maintained in the mind; or Methodism and Revivalism will continue to desolate the world.

End of the World. — One half of the World is not yet inhabited, neither has the Gospel had its perfect work on any part of it. Now, as God creates nothing in vain, it is clear that, as the purpose for which the world has been created has not yet been consummated, we are bound in using our reasoning powers, to believe that, the world will yet exist for many thousand years to come. The World will probably last until the day when sorrow and suffering shall hide their faces, when all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest.

The Resurrection. — At death, while the body remains in the grave, the Souls of Believers immediately pass into glory, and in all probability, they are then judged, without the intervention of any intermediate place, either of punishment or probation. Let us remember the words of St. Paul, when he looked forward to his eternal change,—which indicate that there is to be no intermediate state; and we shall not give ear to vague notions about a middle state, which would deprive us of the presence of the Saviour for thousands or perhaps millions of years after our decease.

Rewards and Punishments. — God being the God of Love, and having no pleasure in the punishment of the wicked, we may assure ourselves that the punishments of the future, will not be nearly so severe as we are accustomed to think. Without punishment, Responsibility would be an empty name; and it is equally true, that if God were to punish His erring creatures beyond what was absolutely necessary for maintaining the feeling of Responsibility in the Soul, he would not be a God of Love, but of vengeance and malignity. Keeping these definite principles in view, all ideas of punishment by fire, torments, and such like, are to be deprecated in the Church. Every man will be judged according to his works, with reference to the

opportunities which he has enjoyed, and the abilities with which he has been endowed. Of him who has received much, much shall be required; and of him who has received little, little shall be required; for every man shall be judged according to his works. It is, of course, impossible to prove that there is no fire in hell, beyond the proof which the character of the Almighty furnishes. But that is a proof which ought to satisfy every reasonable mind, for we are certain that the God of Love will not act contrary to His own character as to the punishment of His erring creatures.

Evil.—Pride may be said to be the mother of Selfishness, Envy, Jealousy, Evil-Speaking, and all Uncharitableness. While these Evil Passions are injurious to others, their evil consequences are ten-fold more injurious to ourselves; for, to the proud and selfish, disappointment and unhappiness must ever be the experience of life. It was to subdue this master-evil of Pride and Selfishness, that our Lord taught the doctrine of Self-Denial figuratively in these remarkable words—"Unless ye forsake fathers, and mothers, and houses and lands, and take up your cross and follow Me, ye cannot be my disciples." These Passions, which are natural, and remain more or less in power from birth to old age, are personified under the figure of Satan, in the New Testament. But now that men have come to understand Human Nature better, they have learnt to read the sayings of our Lord on this important point, in a spiritual sense; when the true import of the passages becomes apparent. To believe in the Personality of Satan, is to raise up a power in the World more potent than God himself—a fallacy which is sufficient of itself to mar the whole scheme of Redemption, which is a Religion of Love and not of Fear.

The Incarnation of Christ.—The Incarnation is the union of the Divine and Human natures in the person of Christ Jesus. In this way was the Invisible God manifested visibly to man. That the intervention of Christ was necessary to bring man to the knowledge of God, as well as to the knowledge of his own Want of Righteousness, and the remedy for that want, is a truth which every one who is learned in the school of Christ knows from his own experience.

The Atonement.—The Atonement of the New Testament is not blood, but a *new creature*. It is not by washing in blood, either actually or figuratively, but in following the example and precepts of our Lord, that we are made like unto Him. It is by Faith in Christ, as our Redeemer, Representative and Mediator, and by the Works which follow that Faith as a natural consequence,—that we become New Men in Christ Jesus.

Baptism.—This Rite is a sign of Discipleship, and nothing more. Parents present their children to be baptised in the name of Christ, as a badge of discipleship. And when these children grow up, they confirm, in presence of the Bishop and the Church, the vows undertaken for them by their parents or godfathers.

The Lord's Supper.—This Institution was ordained by our Lord the night before His Crucifixion. It is to be held as a memorial, in all ages, of the Love wherewith Christ loved the World. "*Do this in remembrance of me,*" is the sum and substance of the Institution.

How beautiful and soul-sustaining is this greatest of ordinances, when viewed in its proper character! To make the Lord's Supper more than a Feast of Commemoration, only mars it; for its whole force arises from the solemn circumstances out of which it arose, and to commemorate which it is instituted.

The Works of God and Man.—External Nature was made by God. The Mind and the Body were likewise made by Him; but the Thoughts, Words and Actions belong exclusively to man, and for these, accordingly, he is responsible. In rightly dividing between the things which are God's and the things that are man's, we shall render to Cæsar the things that are his, and to God the things that are God's, and thus, shall we understand our true position in relation to our Maker.

Opinions.—We are responsible for the Opinions we hold, not merely as to Religion, but to every other thing; for we cannot hold erroneous Opinions on any subject, without producing evil both to ourselves and others.

Self-Reliance.—Without the exercise of Self-Reliance, no progress, either in Religion or anything else is possible; for, unless we believe in our own capacity to improve in our thoughts, words and actions, it is very certain that we shall never improve. It is not Religion, to sit down idly, in the vain hope that God will order Miracles to be performed on our behalf; but it is Religion, to be up and doing, to perform our duty according to our abilities and opportunities, in the belief that God will give the increase. This virtue of Self-Reliance is closely connected with Self-Denial, Self-Control and Self-Reformation; for without Self-Reliance to perform these Christian duties, there can be no Conversion.

Belief.—Belief and Thought being synonymous, it follows, that having the power to change and improve our Opinions at the call of Truth and Evidence, we have likewise the power to change and improve our Beliefs; and as we are responsible for our Opinions, we are responsible for our Beliefs. Without Belief, no Religion, or progress in Religion, is possible; and we all know how low BELIEF has fallen in this Country, in our day. It is only by the increase of Knowledge that Faith can be increased, and in reforming the Church Articles, that increase of Faith and Knowledge so necessary to the very existence of Religion, will be inducted into the System.

Regeneration.—Regeneration, is the end for which all things else are the means. It is the very gate of Heaven. It is by the exercise of Love to God and our neighbour, on the one hand, and the Denial of Self-Love, on the other, in all we think, say and do, that we are changed and re-generated. The Evil Passions are subdued, and wither away under the influence of the Gospel, and such is the power of Love and Self-Denial to regenerate the World.

The Will.—The Old or unregenerated Will, which tendeth to bondage, gives place to the New or regenerated Will, which is Liberty. The first Will is of the Earth, earthy; but the second Will is of the Heavens, heavenly. "Marvel not that I said unto you, Ye must be born again."

Truth and Conscience.—These faculties or principles are almost

identical, both feelings being universally applicable. Every Man is endowed with the faculty of perceiving Truth. There is no difficulty in finding Truth to those who are diligent in seeking after it, the sole difficulty in the matter is in obeying Truth after it has been found. To love Truth, is to love God, for God is the God of Truth.

Sincerity and Hypocrisy.—True Religion produces Sincerity, or Faith and Practice in unison; but Religion which is a mixture of Truth and Error, produces a walk and conversation mixed with the leaven of Hypocrisy. Christians must therefore be careful to understand Religion, lest they fall into the error of the Hypocrite, which is the disgrace of any Church.

Intolerance.—True Religion is never Intolerant; for to those who have no errors to protect, Truth is ever welcome. We may almost estimate the amount of Error in any mind, by the Intolerance that mind displays towards others. Truth and Toleration are ever in company; and where the one is supposed to exist without the other, such is the proof that Error is not yet cast out.

The Feelings and the Intellect.—The Intellect must in every case be allowed to govern the Feelings. What is Intellect or Reason given for, but to guide us as to what we are to think, and do? and if we allow our feelings to dictate our Actions, there is an end to Right Conduct. To suffer Feeling to govern, is to make void the Gospel; for what is that Self-Denial which our Saviour speaks of under the figure of a Cross, but, giving effect to the Intellect, by crucifying the Feelings?

Reason.—This Faculty is given for the express purpose of interpreting the Bible and Nature. Accordingly, if we read the Bible without the use of this greatest and best of all God's gifts, the Bible, instead of guiding us aright, will mislead us. Not to use Reason, is to put our candle under a bushel, as if we were ashamed of the only faculty which distinguishes us from the lower animals. When the Mind of any one is not open to Conviction, that person must be considered in a state of moral bondage; but when the Mind is able to submit to Reason when convinced, it is in a state of Liberty.

Love.—The Christian Religion is built upon Love. Now abideth Faith, Hope and Love, and the greatest of these is Love. The Love of God to Man is the first table of the Covenant. The Love of Man to God, constitutes the second table. The third table is the Love of Man to his fellow Men. In carrying out this latter Commandment, we are to respect, tolerate, and love all Men; and such are the marks by which every Christian is known. "Respect for Others," which is one of the phases of Love, is the basis of all right character; and such is the Christian character. Is not respect for others at once the essence of humility and the test of nobility?

Redemption.—Forgiveness and Redemption are offered to him who loves and follows Truth more than Error, and to him whose walk and conversation is becoming the Gospel. "This is the condemnation, that men love darkness more than light because their deeds are evil."

Divine Grace.—The change of Will from its natural condition to a condition in harmony with the Divine Will, is that Grace of which

the Gospel speaks. The word, however, in some texts, signifies Love, and sometimes Pardon.

This Life.—Life is a time of Trial and Probation to all Men, high and low, rich and poor, from the time they enter the World to the time they leave it. The trials and difficulties of this World are so numerous and constant, that it is necessary ever to be learning and re-learning, so as successfully to contend with the Evil Passions within, and the difficulties which surround our lot. We must be ever watchful and careful to use all our opportunities and abilities to make the most of our time, while health and strength are vouchsafed to us. It is this constitution of the World which necessitates the Institution of the Church, and of the Lord's Day; for unless men are reminded periodically of their duties, they would soon forget them, when the World would become a moral wilderness.

The Lord's Day.—This Day has been set apart for the Celebration of Public Worship and Instruction. As the Lord's Day is an Ecclesiastical Institution, it cannot be lawful to forbid Recreation on that day,—an error which could not fail to be injurious to the best interests of Religion. (See Bampton Lectures, 1860.)

Preaching the Gospel.—Pastors are bound to instruct themselves on the subject of Human Nature; for unless all their discourses have reference to Nature as well as to the Bible, their preaching cannot reach the understanding of the People. To preach to the feelings is one thing, and to preach to the feelings through the understanding another. One feeling cannot improve another, it being the office of the Intellect alone to convince and convert. While the Feelings may be said to be the foundation of the Soul, the Intellect is its architect, guide, and governor. It being as necessary to understand Religion as to believe it, it is desirable that Preaching should be conducted upon a definite plan. If a Code of Articles, such as the New Articles will be, were made the subject of our morning discourses, system would be introduced into the pulpit. Professors of colleges deliver their discourses upon a system, and there is no reason why the Clergy should not do the same. By so doing, the Clergy will see their flocks grow in Grace, and in all that is honouring to God and man; for who is able to estimate the benefits of unfolding the hidden treasures of Truth upon a system, and not in a desultory manner, as heretofore? The Churches will be filled by intelligent congregations, who will feel it a privilege and a pleasure to meet together for Worship and Instruction; and in this way will the glory of the renovated Church greatly exceed that of any former period of her history. The mission of the Church is to supply Spiritual Instruction to the whole population, and there can be no doubt, that, if the Church is faithful in the fulfilment of this, her duty, the People will not be behind in availing themselves of the privilege, seeing that nothing is more grateful to Man than the exercise of all his faculties.

If we have erred in any respect in the compilation of these Articles, we shall be glad to be set right, for our object is truth, and that alone; and, so that we are not asked to introduce inconsistencies into the system, we shall be ready to entertain any suggestions, from whatever

quarter they may come. We hope these Articles will be found to contain nothing but what any Clergyman or Layman may accept. To induce unity among all parties is our object, and to effect that, we must aim at a code of belief which is as liberal and general as is consistent with the Spirit of the Gospel. These Articles may not include all that the reader believes, but if they contain nothing which he may not accept, that, in our opinion, ought to be sufficient to gain his approval. It is clear that we cannot please all parties, and if the reader will remember this, he will be the more inclined to waive private opinions, for the sake of unity and the general good. In compliance with the precept, to "*go on to perfection*," we have not sought a Reformation in vainly trying to reconcile opposites, but rather in boldly going forward to new truths, and in thus forgetting the things that are behind, we have pressed forward to those that are before.

Having, as we hope, said enough to show the errors of Supernaturalism, or the Religion of Miracles, we now turn to the opposite error of Naturalism, of which the "*Phases of Faith*," and "*The Soul and its Aspirations*," by Professor Newman, are perhaps the best exponents. This Faith, which may either be called Naturalism or Spiritualism, may be characterised as a Religion without a doctrine; and, of course, a Religion without a doctrine is no Religion at all. Naturalism is the Religion of the Feelings, irrespective of the government of the Intellect. While the Spiritualists deny miracles, they assume that every man possesses a power, within himself, to make his own Religion. This may be liberty, but it cannot be called either Religion or Civilization. With the Rationalist Creed (Spiritualism), neither Articles nor an Organised Church are possible; for every man would then be a Church to himself. With this Religion, we might bid adieu to Liberty and the progress of Civilization; for we maintain that, without Articles and a Church, there could be neither. The Christian Religion is not Nature, but that which is built upon Nature. To go back to Nature, as the Spiritualists would have us do, is not Civilization, but the opposite; for, as already said, Naturalism is the rule of the Feelings, and we all know what to expect when the Feelings govern. Let the Spiritualists subject Nature to the Law of Truth, and they will come to the same result as ourselves.

Some of the Clergy complain of the efforts now making for the Reformation of Religion, but we must be allowed to tell such very plainly that they have themselves to blame for all this, in so long remaining deaf to every proposal for Reform. We have shown that there is only one way of strengthening the Church, namely, the Reformation of her Articles of Faith, but that only Salvation the Church has all along refused, and, now that the Church is in danger, the Clergy are at their wit's end, and know not how to turn.

We have shown that Truth is not only the remedy for Supernaturalism, but the remedy for Naturalism, and we trust the New Articles of Religion now proposed by this Society will be found to be fully competent to deliver the Church out of all her difficulties, if the necessary reforms are carried out before the Church crumbles to the ground from her defects from within and the attacks of her enemies from without. It is manifest, that if the Protestant Church is to be saved, every friend

of Religion and Liberty must now rally round the *Bible*, and demand a complete Reformation of the Articles, so as to bring them into conformity with the Scriptures.

The reason why the Church makes no progress is, that discussion is confined to historical questions. In the Law Courts, many years are constantly lost in discussing preliminary points, but the moment the *merits* are reached the case is disposed of. It is the same with the Church. Three centuries have been taken up with preliminary discussions on historical questions, but if the Church will now come to the “merits” of the case by entering boldly on Doctrine, as we have endeavoured to do in these pages, we shall come to a reformation when all disputes will be finally settled.

While little progress has been made in the diffusion of Knowledge, substantial progress has been made in the minds of the few,—an advance which only requires to have its expression in Literature and the National Creed to become universal. If we are told that a Literature and a Religion equal to the intelligence of the few, would to the many be a dead language, we answer, that such is a fallacy, for to supply a good article is to create a market. This is a truth which is every day seen in the ordinary affairs of life, and there is no reason why the rule should not hold in Literature and Religion as well as in other things. But we will go even further, for we have no hesitation in saying that TO BELIEVE IN A BETTER FUTURE IS TO CREATE ONE.

FINIS.

PROGRESS
OF THE
NEW REFORMATION
IN
ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

"Give us true and consistent opinions, and actions will accord with them. It is because no Church has adopted a Creed free from error, that evil abounds in the world. It therefore follows that any improvement must be preceded by a Reformation of Doctrine; for it is precept and not practice that is at fault."—*Philosophy of Civilization.*

ESSAY No. 2.

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N.B.—The whole Series is expected to be completed in seven or eight Numbers.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICS AND THE PRESS.

Since the publication of our first Essay, the Reformation has made steady progress. Not only have the English public responded to the call, but the French public, to whom the subject was not new, have taken it up in right earnest. The Protestants of England have met the Catholics of France on the neutral ground of Reform, an event which is sufficient of itself to change the destinies of the world. It may take some of our readers by surprise to hear that France, which is a Catholic country, should be on the eve of a reformation; but when we remember that Truth is of no time or place, but is applicable to all Churches and times alike, that surprise will cease. The times in which we live are such, that events which would have occupied centuries in former times, are now possible, as it were, in a day.

That France and England should not only be yoked together in commerce, but in Religion, is truly astounding, an event which indicates very clearly, that a class has risen up on both sides of the channel, who are devoted to the reformation of civilization, not only in England and France, but throughout the world. The Free-Trade movement, which is based on the principle of self-sacrifice, has probably given birth to this new spirit; and in extending the principles of truth and liberty to Religion, we enter on a new era in history.

Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in concert with the Holy See, are said to have entered into a new "Holy Alliance," to maintain the interests of despotism. France, true to her high mission as the leader of the liberal interests, is increasing her armaments, so that she may be prepared to meet the coming storm. But this is not all; for France is not only adding to her armies, but she is preparing to put an end to the Papal power in France, by establishing a NATIONAL CHURCH—a Church which will be neither Catholic nor Protestant, but a Reformed Church which repudiates the errors of both. This is an indispensable step to ultimate success; for, so long as the despotic powers can influence the people of France through the Confessional, it is not to be expected that

the liberal interest could come victoriously out of the conflict. France cannot go to war with the Catholic powers with any prospect of success so long as she remains part of the Catholic Church. As the interests of Religion and Civilization demand that she should constitute for herself a Church independent of Rome, we may look forward with confidence to a great Reformation being immediately carried out, which will be the precursor of UNIVERSAL PEACE; for when the Confessional ceases, the last hope of despotism *is gone*. We cannot say that there will be no war, for the usurped power of Rome will not die without a struggle, but we can safely say, that with the Reformation in progress, the horrors of war will be lightened, and their duration shortened. A protracted war is now impossible; for, with the banner of UNIVERSAL TOLERATION unfurled, war will soon give place to peace.

A new feature in the annals of warfare was evolved last year, which it would be well to remember. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was wrested from the despotism of Francis II more by moral force than by bayonets; for, like Jericho of old, the walls of the besieged cities fell down, after they had been compassed about with armies, heralded by the sound of the trumpets of peace and liberty. The moral of this is simple enough. Let the trumpets be sounded in the hearing of the people, and they will open their gates to those who come to their succour. Such has been the experience of the Italian war of independence, and if the same policy is pursued in future we may expect the same glorious results. If war can be avoided this year, it will be a great blessing; for, ere another year has run its course, the Hungarians and Poles may, by the moral force that has been evoked in the councils of Europe, achieve their wishes without any appeal to arms.

We observe that some of the journals fear that the Reformation will endanger the stability of the Church of England. That any one should entertain such short-sighted ideas only shows that they have not considered the subject, for the tendency of the Reformation is to build up and not to destroy the Church. When it was proposed to reform the Parliament in 1832, we were told that the Constitution was in danger, but the result has more than falsified that fear, for Parliament is now stronger than ever. It was the same in 1846, when the Corn Laws were repealed. The land was to be thrown out of cultivation, but the result has been that the value of land has greatly increased. It will be the same with the Church, for when she is reformed, she will stand on a rock which cannot be shaken. Our design is to elevate and enlarge Religion, and we hope we have taken the only method of effecting these objects by proposing that the Creed of the Church should be purified and perfected.

But there is another misconception which we must meet. Some say we have more need of a Political than of Religious Reformation. Such short-sighted reasoners would reap the harvest without the trouble of sowing—they would take the fruits, but refuse the labour and the sacrifice. But what is the state of the case? Without a Religious Reformation to set public opinion right, we cannot have a Political Reformation, of which the case of France and the Confessional is a notable example. How can there be Civil Liberty if there is no Moral

or Religious Liberty? Is not the one the effect of the other? As well expect to gather figs of thistles, as to reap where we have not sown.

We hope we have now made it plain that the Reformation, to be general and permanent, must be Religious as well as Political. We must reform the causes of evil as well as their effects, and in combining the religious with the political element, we take the only method which can possibly produce the desired result. Let both Reformations go on simultaneously, and the issue will not be doubtful.

The state of the English Press at this momentous epoch of history, is anything but satisfactory. The events going on within our own Church have not been discussed with any appreciation of their important bearings. The disruption of the American Republic has been deplored, instead of being hailed as the harbinger of a better state of things in that country. The coming extinction of slavery is a topic which, instead of calling forth the congratulations of the press, is entirely ignored. Why should the public be obliged to read day by day, the threadbare topics of bygone times, which can serve no other purpose but to keep up dissensions and angry feelings, which otherwise would die away? Are there not enough of new topics of paramount interest going on around us, with which to delight, instead of wearying their readers?

We desire to see the press take its proper place as the instructors and advisers of the public: but this high position it can never reach until editors take courage to speak their real sentiments without reserve. We should be glad to see the public take up this important question; for public opinion cannot be improved if the press makes no progress. It is neither talent nor scholarship which is wanting; for the press can boast of both; but it is the want of public spirit. It is not photographs of current opinions that are wanted, for we see enough of that in our intercourse with the world. We naturally look to the press for information as to what is right and good, for it has access to sources of knowledge which the people have not, and to furnish us with this is the proper mission of the newspaper press.

Although the past state of public opinion may be some excuse for the deficiencies of the press, the time has happily come when that excuse will no longer be listened to. It has been said that the British Press is not a Free Press—that although it is free from Government control, it is not free from the more galling bondage of an intolerant public. This is a truth which every statesman and author knows from personal experience. We say, let that stigma on the British name be washed out; let bygones be bygones; for a better day is at hand.

The change that is going on in political circles is very encouraging, for the old distinctions of party are passing away, and new and better ones are taking their place. High and Low Church are already almost obsolete terms, for both parties are being lost in the new distinctions of reformers and anti-reformers. The old names of Whig and Tory are, however, likely to remain, the one representing the progress party, and the other the anti-progress party, designations which are so well understood that it would be a pity that they should undergo any change.

While there may be many different churches in the world, there ought to be only one creed, seeing that there is only one Truth and one

Gospel. So far from wishing to unite all churches in one, as some have imagined, we think a diversity of churches more conducive to the general welfare: for all experience goes to shew, that both Unity and Individuality must be preserved, if we wish to see a Civilization grow up which is true to nature. We say, therefore, let all Churches advocate the same creed, but at the same time, maintain their distinctive characters as respects Church Government and Ecclesiastical Polity, and that we think is the language of toleration and sound statesmanship.

CHAPTER II.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

“Prove all things and hold to that which is good.”

In our former Essay, we treated of Theology positively—giving in the form of articles an interpretation of the Scriptures. We now pass to the negative aspect of the question, which we shall treat of under the head of Calvinism and Revivalism. In this way, we hope to exhaust the subject, by presenting the reader with a complete system of Theology, both positive and negative. The Thirty-nine Articles, which we are now to revise, will be found in the Prayer Book—of which the following is a list.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. On Faith in the Holy Trinity. | 22. On Purgatory. |
| 2. Christ the Son of God. | 23. Ministering in the Congregation. |
| 3. His going down into Hell. | 24. Speaking in the Congregation. |
| 4. His Resurrection. | 25. The Sacraments. |
| 5. The Holy Ghost. | 26. The Unworthiness of Ministers. |
| 6. The Sufficiency of the Scripture. | 27. Baptism. |
| 7. The Old Testament. | 28. The Lord's Supper. |
| 8. The Three Creeds. | 29. The Wicked which eat not the |
| 9. Original or Birth Sin. | Body of Christ. |
| 10. Free-will. | 30. Both Kinds. |
| 11. Justification. | 31. Christ's one Oblation. |
| 12. Good Works. | 32. The Marriage of Priests. |
| 13. Works before Justification. | 33. Excommunicate Persons. |
| 14. Works of Supererogation. | 34. The Traditions of the Church. |
| 15. Christ alone without Sin. | 35. The Homilies. |
| 16. Sin after Baptism. | 36. Consecration of Ministers. |
| 17. Predestination and Election. | 37. Civil Magistrates. |
| 18. Obtaining Salvation by Christ. | 38. Christian Men's Goods. |
| 19. The Church. | 39. A Christian Man's Oath. |
| 20. The Authority of the Church. | — The Ratification. |
| 21. Authority of General Councils. | |

Article 1 teaches that God is one person, and at the same time three persons,—which is a palpable contradiction; for it is certain that one cannot be three, and yet remain one. Article 8 ordains that the three Creeds of the Prayer Book are to be received and fully believed in, and these Creeds teach the same contradictory doctrine very fully.

The explanation of the mystery of the Trinity is probably this:—God is One. Christ is the supernatural union of God and Man, not only on the Earth, but to all eternity in Heaven. The Holy Ghost is the spirit of God in Man, when sanctified by the truth. The Mediator is not a second God, but God united with Christ Jesus. The Holy Ghost is not a third God, but the Spirit of God in Man. We see God in Himself manifested in the works of creation; we see God miraculously in Christ; and we see God naturally in Man; and these are the three aspects in which the Eternal God is manifested to the World. There is no contradiction here, the whole being in conformity with scripture and experience.

It will be found that the Trinity of the Prayer Book receives no countenance from any part of the Bible, either Old or New, and therefore we ask why the Thirty-nine Articles should not be immediately reformed, so as to bring them into harmony with Scripture? Let it not be imagined that this is a matter of little practical importance, for, so far from that being the case, there is not a doctrine of Religion which is not affected by it; and if we are to reform the subordinate doctrines, we must, of necessity, begin with the reformation of the fundamental doctrine.

We once heard an eminent professor of theology preach a sermon on the Deity; and as the subject is one rarely touched on from the pulpit, we were curious to know what the clergy really believe. The professor said that there were two errors to be avoided in approaching the sublime subject of his discourse; the one was, in supposing that God is a person, and the other that he is a principle. God is neither the one nor the other; but something between the two! The learned preacher was obliged to come to this extraordinary conclusion, in order to vindicate the doctrines of the Church. Here we see the deplorable results of allowing contradictions to remain in the Articles of Religion; for such must, of necessity, produce Scepticism and negation. There is no wonder that there should be so much scepticism in the Church, when the fundamental doctrine of all theology contains so many contradictions. Nor can we wonder that the Church makes so few converts among the Jews, Mahomedans, and Heathens, when she offers them a Religion which they cannot understand, owing to the mass of contradictions which surround it. But let these defects be removed, and there is no reason why the Gospel should not become co-extensive with the world.

Christ performed innumerable Miracles. He was a Miracle himself, both in his life and resurrection. He spoke by inspiration; in other words, miraculously. The origin of the Gospel is therefore entirely miraculous. The doctrine taught by Christ was often a reliance on Miraculous Grace, but although that was obviously the intention of our Lord's preaching as regards the Apostles and Disciples, it does not follow that He intended that the nations of the world should interpret such sayings as applicable to them, after the Age of Miracles had ceased; or, after the occasion for Miracles had passed away, and the Canon of Scripture had been closed. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jewish Nation, may be considered the ending

of the Dispensation of Miracles, and to those Christians exclusively who lived previously to that time, are the words of our Saviour which teach the doctrine of Miraculous Grace applicable.

The following words are from the Gospel of St. John :—

“Howbeit, when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all Truth ; for He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak ; for He will show you (the apostles and disciples) things to come.”—*John 14th*. This passage is an example of a text which is not applicable to Christians of modern times, in its literal sense ; for, although the doctrine was to be taken in that sense by the immediate followers of our Lord, it is obvious that, unless we accept the doctrine of Modern Miracles as still going on, we must reject the literal reading of such passages, and only accept them as having reference to modern times in their non-miraculous sense. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are to be received as the inspired Word of God, but it is necessary to distinguish between passages which apply to modern times, and passages which exclusively apply to the Apostles and Disciples, and the times in which they lived, for if we apply the former in their literal sense, we must nullify the Gospel by continuing in the Church belief in Modern Miracles.

If we are told that our system exalts the understanding or reason above the Scriptures, we refer all such objectors to the following words of our Lord, which are clear and definite on the subject of Reason :—

“He that receiveth the seed into good ground, is he who heareth the Word and *understandeth it* ; who also in an honest and good heart bringeth forth fruit with patience.”—Mark 4th and Luke 8th.

“Being born again by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever. And this is the Word which by the Gospel is preached unto you.”—1 Peter, chap. 1.

Here the whole mystery of Conversion is explained—the Word preached being the cause of conversion, and the conversion the natural effect. It is the understanding of Religion (Reason) which produces Conversion,—for unless the Word preached enters the understanding, the heart is not convinced, and no change of soul is produced.

The time is now come when the Church must decide either to accept the doctrine of Supernaturalism without reservation, or abandon it altogether. Modern Miracles, both spiritual and material, are either true or false, and, as all Protestants agree in this, that there is no evidence of Miracles, either spiritual or material, in modern times, we are forced to reject the idea of Miraculous Grace.

The Catholic Church openly avows belief in modern Miracles, and it is impossible for us Protestants consistently or conscientiously to say that that Church is in error, if we ourselves believe in Miracles under other names. Until the Protestant Churches give up the doctrine of Miraculous Grace, the Catholic Church is able to say with truth, that while she is consistent in all her doctrines, the Protestant Church is not. But the moment that the Protestant Churches repudiate the idea of supernatural influences, and give effect to that Reformation in all their Articles of Faith, the Protestants will not only be consistent in all their doctrines, but those doctrines, taken collectively, will be consistent with

Truth, which the Catholic Church cannot say, so long as she remains unreformed.

The Articles of the Church have an effect on the Religion of the Land which few men fully comprehend. They interpret the Bible by authority, so that it is of vital importance to Religion that they should be free from error; for if they contain anything contrary to Scripture, they must have the effect of depriving the Clergy and Laity of the benefits of Revelation, to the extent of the errors which they may contain. Let us, therefore, carefully compare the Articles with Scripture, which we shall review under three heads. 1st. the works of Man; 2nd. the work of Christ, as Mediator between God and Man; and 3rd. the works of God.

1. *Free Will* (Article 10th).—This Article, instead of granting the Doctrine of Free Will, as the title of the Article indicates, denies Free Will altogether. The Article states, that in consequence of "*Original Sin*," Man has no power of himself to do anything good; he is, therefore, nothing more than a passive machine in the hands of his Maker. Man is absolved from all responsibility whatever; for where there is no Liberty of Thought and Action, there can be no Responsibility. Having no power to perform anything good (Art. 11), the Doctrine of "*Faith without Works*" follows as a matter of course, and that Doctrine is fully taught by those two Articles.

2. *The Atonement* (Art. 15.)—The Atonement of the Old Testament is the sacrifice of bulls and goats; and the Atonement of the New Testament is the sacrifice of the body of Christ. This Doctrine transfers the Religion of Moses into the Religion of Christ, the only difference being, that the one sacrifice is infinitely more precious than the other. In refuting this doctrine, we ask if any one is able to reconcile this version of the Christian Religion with the acts and sayings of our Lord and his Apostles? We think not. Christ came on purpose to repeal the Religion of Moses, which had been mixed up with Sacrifices, which are declared to be an abomination to the Lord; and not to apply that Religion to the World at large for all time coming. In proof of this opinion we may refer to the following passages from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John. "*The Law came by Moses; but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.*"—*John*, ch. 1. "They that be whole need not a physician; but they that are sick, but go and learn what that meaneth, I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice; for I am not come to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance."—*Matthew*, ch. 9. The meaning of this remarkable passage is very plain. The self-righteous Pharisees, to whom these words were addressed, made themselves whole by Faith in Sacrifices; and to such, Christ was not wanted; for they that are whole need no physician. It is by interpreting the Old Testament by the New Testament that we are enabled to arrive at this important result. There may be some passages in St. Paul's Epistles which will bear a construction favorable to the doctrine of "*Justification without Works*;" but it must be remembered that these writings of St. Paul are letters addressed to particular Churches, with special objects in view, and not writings for general application in all countries and all times, as the Gospels are. St. Paul himself points

out this difference in very plain language, when he says, "*To the Jews I became as a Jew, so that I might gain the Jews,*"—1 Cor. ix., 20. With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul cannot be charged with it, for the style of that epistle is quite different from St. Paul's style, nor does it bear the Apostle's name, as do the other epistles.—See Conybeare's "*Life and Epistles of St. Paul,*" vol. 2, p. 605.

3. *Predestination and Election* (Art. 17.)—Every Man is chosen of God, either for salvation or damnation, irrespective of his merits. The thoughts and acts of Man do not affect his destiny for good or evil; for this article teaches us to believe that the predestinated Acts of our Maker have fixed our destiny before we were born. Such is the reading of this article; and with such erroneous doctrines before us, it will surprise no one when we state that the word *Responsibility* does not occur in this or any other of the Thirty-nine Articles! The whole scope of these articles is opposed to the idea of Man's Responsibility, and accordingly, that fundamental doctrine of all true Religion and Morality is wanting. Now what is the doctrine of the Gospel but this—"Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish"? Christ teaches the doctrine of Responsibility; but the Articles of our Church do not; and what in such circumstances can we say of these Articles, but that they are in opposition to the Gospel, both in letter and spirit.

The Religion of the Thirty-nine Articles *has not made Men good*, and never can make them good. It will not be till man's capacity to improve himself (Free Will) is recognised by the Church Articles, that any fruits of the Gospel can be expected; for, so long as Man is taught that he cannot improve himself, it is quite certain that he will not improve. It has been imagined that the reason why Man remains unregenerate, is the want of practice; but that fallacy is now set at rest; for it is PRECEPT and not practice that is at fault.

If it is said that the Clergy and Laity have the Bible for their guide as well as the Thirty-nine Articles, we answer that it is only true in a limited sense. The Articles are the authorised interpretation of the Bible, and no Clergyman is permitted to teach any Doctrine of the Bible in any other sense than that set forth by the Articles. It is practically the same with the Laity; for if any Layman expresses opinions at variance with the Articles, although those opinions may be much more true to the Bible than the Articles themselves, he is certain to be denounced as a freethinker and an infidel. These facts go far to show that the want of fruits in the Church do not arise from any fault in the Bible, but from a wrong interpretation of the Bible contained in the Articles. People are apt to imagine that the Thirty-nine Articles, which are seldom or never read, exercise little or no influence on Public Opinion; but these facts indicate the reverse; for so long as erroneous Articles remain the law of the land, Public Opinion must partake of the same errors.

It has been imagined that no Clergyman can dissent from any of the Thirty-nine Articles, and yet consistently remain in the Church; but to show that such is a fallacy, we need only refer to the Articles themselves, which fortunately provide for that contingency. Article 6th.—"*Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary for*

Salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, or may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of Faith." It is obvious that if every Clergyman who discovers errors in the Thirty-nine Articles was bound to retire from the Church, these Articles must be branded with the name of "Finality," for in that case, any reform or improvement of the Articles would be rendered impossible. Those Clergymen who desire a reformation of Religion are, on the contrary, bound to remain at their posts; for that is the only way they can render a service to their Church and their country. When the great Wycliffe discovered errors of the Church in his times, he did not basely leave his post; and in boldly advocating a reformation of those errors, he has left a memorial of his courage and public spirit which will be remembered with gratitude while the World lasts.

In this review of the Thirty-nine Articles, we have only been able to mention a few of the principal Articles, but we trust we have said enough to enable our readers to form a judgment of the whole. Some ask what is the use of Articles at all, but such might as well ask what is the use of the Bible, for without Articles to enable the people to know how the Church interprets the Bible, the Church and the Bible would be comparatively useless. Consistent Articles of Belief are the best guarantee of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY that a nation can possess, they are moreover the only security for the maintenance of toleration, or social peace and liberty. Such being the importance of purity in the National Faith, we feel assured that the subject will receive that careful attention and consideration which its great importance demands.

It has been said that the Thirty-nine Articles are partly Arminian and partly Calvinistic, but after a careful examination of these articles, we have found them to be wholly Calvinistic. There may be a word, or sentence, here and there which will bear an interpretation at variance with strict Calvinism, but that does not alter the fact which we have stated, for we know of no book which might not be perverted in that way. The creed of the Church of England being Calvinistic, it will be necessary to examine more particularly the nature of that Religion, but this we must reserve for the next Chapter.

CHAPTER III.

CALVINISM.

"Every man shall be judged according to his Works."

To test the reality of the Calvinistic theory, let us ask what is the object of that religion. Regeneration is not the object of the Calvinistic Churches, since they repudiate Works, and these are necessary to regeneration. To glorify God is not the object, for that is worship, and worship is not an object but a means. Belief is not the object, for unless belief be followed by action it can produce nothing. Prayer

is not the object, for with Election and Predestination it is difficult to see the use of prayer. Church-going and Sabbath-keeping are not the object, for these, like worship, are only means. In short, the Calvinistic theory of religion has no object, and a religion without an object is a negation. Is it not true, that unless religion be a practical thing, it is nothing? It may at first sight be feared that when Calvinistic error is taken away, little will be left, but the case is just the reverse. The evil of the Calvinistic doctrines is, that they contradict and obscure the Gospel light, and thus curtail its fullness and freeness, but take away errors, and Gospel truth comes out in bold relief, and a great expansion of faith is the consequence. Let us state the result.

The first and great boon which the sacrifice of Calvinism bestows is Free Will; for while Election and Predestination remain there is no Will, for a will that is not free is not a will. This recognition of the Will for the first time in the Churches will be the Magna Charta of religious liberty. With Calvinism we have nothing but to brood over our own nothingness; but now made free with the liberty whereof Christ has made us free, we are called on to be up and doing, to work out our salvation. Nothing is so pleasant and beneficial as employment, and in exchange for empty contemplation, which ends in negation, we shall have a positive and practical Religion to interest and employ the soul.

But Free Will is not all, for now the Christian has a sure and stable foundation for his faith, in a God who is good and just; no perception of which is to be found in the God of the Calvinists, who saves one and condemns another irrespective of their deserts! Further, in exchange for the gratification of the feelings, which the Calvinists may have, the Reformed Church will, in addition, have the higher gratification of the intellect; and we need only remark that, while the feelings are often made to blush when met by the arguments of truth, the intellect is never put to shame. In short, in exchange for the Calvinistic theory we shall have a faith ten thousand times better and larger, so that the sacrifice which truth demands is great gain.

If we are told that faith is to be proved by works, that is salvation by the combination of faith and works; and if the Calvinistic Churches will grant that, we are agreed. But it is plain that the Calvinists cannot do so consistently with their own theory, for the moment that works are introduced, Election and Predestination must be given up; for it must not be forgotten that Predestination and Regeneration are opposed to each other; the one being the work of God, and the other the work of man. It may be pleasant for indolent man to be told that Works are not essential to Salvation, as that relieves him from the trouble of Self-exertion, Self-control, and Self-reformation; but, in exchange for that delusion, he must bend his neck under a yoke of burdensome and impracticable doctrines, which ignore liberty and the power of self-improvement,—a yoke which neither we nor our children are able to bear. If we take up this burden, we go back to the Jewish Religion, from which the load is borrowed, and then Christ has risen in vain—we are under the law of bondage, and not under GRACE.

The following extracts from the Works of Mr. J. S. Mill and Mr. Alison, show the withering effect of Calvinism on the character, which is as sad as it is true.

“Human Nature being radically corrupt, there is no redemption for any one until Human Nature is killed within them. To those holding this theory of life, crushing out the human faculties, capacities, and susceptibilities, is no evil; man needs no capacity, but that of surrendering himself. Such is the theory of Calvinism,—and it is held in a mitigated form by many who do not consider themselves Calvinists.”—

Mill on Liberty.

“The first and greatest cause of the decline of civilization is of course the great revival of Calvinism in the course of the present century. This will appear, if I now describe the character which that theory of Religion produces. Calvinism kills the inner man, for in ignoring self-reliance, self-exertion, and self-reformation, it must have that effect. What is the type of the present age, but the absence of individual character, and what but to the revival of Calvinism can we ascribe that fearful result? The whole nation has been dwarfed by that revival; we have become a nation of little men, the essence of weakness, and with such men there is no saying what calamities may come upon us. The spread of the Revival Movement, as it is called, in all parts of the United Kingdom, is one of those calamities, the evil effects of which will soon be apparent, and I might easily mention other calamities equally great, which may be expected to befall us in our present defenceless state. To the Calvinistic movement must, therefore, be traced the great cause of the present decline of Civilization.”—

Philosophy of Civilization.

If we are asked, what is the point in Theology, on which the present controversy ought to turn, we answer that the doctrine of Free Will is that point; for that is the only doctrine which is sufficiently comprehensive to embrace all other doctrines and controversies. Then, how is this momentous question of the Will to be set at rest? We say, once admit that the Law of Truth exists in the mind of one and all, and the question is settled; for if Truth is a reality, Free Will is the same. Truth convinces the Reason and bends the Will; it changes opinions and beliefs, and of course, if we had no liberty to make these changes, we could not make them. Here we have the proof of Free Will, as clear and certain as it is possible to conceive anything certain. The following extract from “The Philosophy of Civilization,” ought to set this important matter at rest.

“That every man is endowed with the faculty of perceiving Truth, when it is fairly brought before him, is a fact which I have proved fifty times over by actual experiment. I have submitted a series of propositions to a mixed company, and before I left the room every one assented to all the propositions laid before them. This proves that there is not only such a thing as Truth, but that every man’s mind is impressed with the faculty of perceiving it. No sooner was this important discovery made, than I set to work to complete the project I had in view, of which the present Work is the result; in the assured confidence that I had only to define Truth, by applying

it to all knowledge, and lay it plainly before my readers, to produce a uniform result in the minds of all. This will no doubt startle many of my readers. They will be apt to exclaim, that it is contrary to all experience to find any set of opinions commanding the assent of all. To this I reply, that if opinions are true they will certainly produce the same effect on all honest minds. When dissent is produced, that is the proof that the opinions offered are not true, or at least not the whole truth. I maintain that the test of a good style of writing is its facility of being understood ; and in like manner, the test of the truth of opinions is the facility of their commanding universal assent."

Having now ascertained the existence of Truth and Free-will, all the subordinate doctrines of theology may easily be settled. Man having a free-will to think and act for himself, his thoughts and acts cannot have been predestinated by God. Neither can Original Sin be the cause of Evil within Man; for, as Man possesses the ability to follow Truth, the idea of Original Sin, as the cause of the Evil Passions, becomes altogether untenable. Man having the capacity to work out his own Salvation by following the precepts of the Gospel, Redemption cannot come directly from the acts of God, but from the acts of Man. It follows, therefore, that the Atonement does not consist in the sacrifice of blood, but in the sacrifice of our Natural Affections. We have now shown that the beginning of Religion, worthy of the name, is belief in Free-will; for having made sure of that safe resting-place, we have no difficulty in dealing with all the subtleties with which theologians have mystified Religion.

The difference between Ecclesiastical and Religious opinions or doctrines is, that while Ecclesiastical opinions are particular, and admit of a variety of different opinions, Religious Doctrines are general, and admit of only one opinion. Truth admits of only one opinion, but error of many different opinions. In following the course of truth, there can be only one opinion ; but to deviate from that course is to produce a diversity of opinions. It is a Reformation of Religious Opinions alone which we have undertaken to expound and direct, and in undertaking this great and responsible duty, on the principles of truth, consistency, and impartiality, the result cannot fail to be a great increase of unity and concord, not only in the Church, but in the political circles into which the Laity is at present divided ; nor do we hold out these bright prospects without at the same time giving sufficient reasons for entertaining them.

The Protestant Churches may be divided into two great classes—the Arminians and the Calvinists. The Arminian Creed makes Man something ; but the Calvinists' Creed makes him nothing. In other words, while the Arminian accepts the doctrine of Free Will, which makes Man something, the Calvinist ignores that doctrine. The one theology is in direct opposition to the other ; and to be consistent every Christian must either be the one or the other ; for, we cannot serve two masters, or be of two opposite religions. There is no other alternative consistent with truth and a good conscience, but to take the one Religion or the other ; and we trust the time has gone by when Religion,

the most important part of Man's estate here below, can be allowed to remain everything and yet nothing ; for, while our Religion is in that primitive condition, we must ever be learning, and never coming to the knowledge of Truth.

The Calvinists, instead of teaching men to exert themselves, rely on the miraculous Grace of God to do everything for them ; and, consistently enough, they deprecate Self-reliance in Religion, directly and indirectly in everything else. Now, if God's Government was miraculous, which the Apostle Paul tells us was not the case,—that very convenient doctrine of non-reliance would be all very well ; but as all experience goes to prove that miraculous agency is not true, we are only resting on a broken reed to listen to such teaching. We need not wonder that Religion and Civilization make no progress in the land, and consequently that sorrow and suffering experience no diminution, when we are taught to lean on that of which we have no evidence ; for, unless we are prepared to say and to prove that Man is governed by miraculous influences, what we have now said must be true.

Such is the Religion which bears the name of Dr. Calvin, of which the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession of Faith are the authorized versions. This Religion, which its founder borrowed from St. Augustan, who lived about the year A.D. 430, is likewise held by many who do not consider themselves Calvinists, but whose opinions are a practical embodiment of that faith. We now pass to a modern phase of the same religion—which is known as Revivalism—which may be said to be Calvinism in its worst form.

CHAPTER IV.

REVIVALISM.

"Be not overcome of Evil, but overcome Evil with Good."

We now come to one of the darkest spots of our history, namely, the rise and progress of Revivalism, an evil which is perhaps the greatest national calamity which has ever visited our shores. The importance of throwing light upon this subject cannot be overstated, and, knowing as we do, its vast power for evil to the destinies of this country, we shall not shrink from our duty.

Revivalism may be described as Naturalism, for it is the ebullitions of Nature apart from the government of the intellect. The religion of nature is impulse, and the religion of Christ principle, and out of these two come Civilization and all that is good. Principle is one thing, nature another, and so different are they that the one may be said to be divine and the other human. It follows from these considerations that Nature without principle to govern it is evil,—it is neither Religion nor Civilization—in short it is retrogression and not progress.

Revivalism is not the act of God, nor yet the act of a devil, but the act of man himself when left without the law of Truth to rule and guide him. The anarchy in the church, arising from the want of reform in her articles, has left man practically without a ruler, and it is therefore no wonder that he should have run to weeds. To say that Revivalism comes from God is to say that God is not the God of Truth, seeing that Revivals ignore that principle. Again, if we say that Revivals are the act of a devil, we encourage Satan's work in becoming the abettors of Revivalism. The moment we penetrate below the surface we find that Revivalism is neither more nor less than the evil passions of man stirred up by those who are ignorant of the constitution of human nature, and of the glorious scheme of the Gospel which Christ hath worked out for its redemption.

But if we are told that after a Revival the catalogue of crime is reduced, we answer that may be so, for although one evil may cast out another, it does not follow that any cure is effected. By giving a new direction to the mind we may change erring mortals into fanatics, and although crime and drunkenness may in this way be arrested, other worse evils take their place. Depend upon it there is only one way of making men good, and that is, by recognising his capacity to improve himself, and by submitting to the dictates of truth and principle. That is a different religion from anything taught at revival meetings, for such meetings are popular, because they gratify the feelings instead of denying them. Exaggerated ideas of sin, and equally exaggerated ideas of punishment by hell-fire, are the weapons of revivalists—a religion as unlike the gospel, which is a religion of love, as it is possible to conceive. We may as well expect to gather figs of thistles as to find men bearing the fruits of Righteousness without submitting to the law of Truth. If it is bad morality to say that the feelings are to rule the intellect, it must be bad religion to allow the natural feelings to govern.

In America it was found that the commercial distress of 1857 greatly increased the Revivals in that country, and if, in the providence of God, England should be visited with hard times owing to the failure of the harvest of last year, we may expect an increase of Revivalism in this country, unless in the mean time the reformation movement we have undertaken shall have attained a power equal to counteract the evil. In the event of bad times coming upon us it will be too much to expect that the reformation, let it be ever so successful, could change bad times into good times; but this we may promise, that the hardness of the times will be greatly lightened, and their duration shortened, by the reformation. As material prosperity depends for the most part on moral prosperity, we may hail the advent of the new Reformation as the herald of a better time, for instead of the energies of the people being crippled by fanaticism, they will be strengthened by true religion. Let us take courage therefore, for the gloom of the present will ere long produce a reaction if we only sow liberally, and at the same time keep down the weeds.

Not only is Religion threatened by the spread of Revivalism, but Civilization itself—for a nation given over to the dominion of the

feelings is a nation in which Civilization is at a low ebb. With the decline of Civilization we must expect the decline of every interest in the country; and we call the special attention of our statesmen to the matter, so that they may be induced to pass the Church Reform Bill with as little delay as possible.

Hitherto the people have only heard of religion without works, now they must learn that without works religion is dead. Luther said that all the devils in hell would never be able to overturn his doctrine of "*Justification without Works*," but we say that erroneous doctrine has at last worked its own cure, for now that we see its evil effects, *nothing can save it from destruction*.

If we are told that Revivalism is only an excrescence on religion, and that the Clergy are not responsible for it, we answer that it is only partially true. The Church teaches men to doubt, if not entirely to deny their own capacity to improve; and when men are thus practically left without a Doctrine, what can they do but have recourse to another doctrine, even the religion of nature? Had the clergy apprehended what the gospel really was, they would have taught a very different religion, in which case, the revivals would have had no existence.

From Judaism and Catholicism we have gone to Calvinism and Armenianism, and from these to Spiritualism and Revivalism. But all these forms of religion we reject as more or less erroneous, and in their stead we take the true gospel. (See the revised Articles of Faith, an outline of which will be found in Essay I, to which we specially refer our readers.) There is nothing hidden which shall not be revealed; and we shall do our best to forward that glorious work of universal enlightenment, which is destined to set the world free from sin and misery; and if we may say that darkness or ignorance is the kingdom of Satan, that kingdom must come to an end.

The Evangelical Alliance have in an evil hour ordered a day of general prayer for the increase of revivalism, and we mention the circumstance in the hope that that influential society may see the necessity of reconsidering the matter and of aiding us in our efforts for a reformation. Instruction as to what is good and true is that which is wanting, and if the Evangelical Alliance will turn their attention to the enlightenment of the world, they will become evangelists in the proper sense of the word.

If we, like others, had confined our efforts to the reformation of practice, we could have effected nothing, for practice is an effect, not a cause. It is precept that is at fault, accordingly we seek the reformation of private and public opinion, and of the standards of the Church, contained in the Thirty-Nine Articles, which may be said to form the basis of public opinion. To teach the doctrine of non-self-reliance, and then to blame men for the want of better practice, which can only come from self-reliance, is neither truth nor justice; and in saying that the fault lies in the want of better precept we only state a truth which every man who considers the subject must acknowledge. It is a happy circumstance that the want of the Fruits of Righteousness should arise from the want of good doctrine, for if the

evil had arisen from the want of practice, of course there would be no remedy.

Were we to leave the doctrine of the atonement unreformed, there could be no Reformation—the world must continue to grope on in the dark as heretofore, and instead of sin and misery being reduced, they would increase, for the more we cling to the idea of a “Sacrificial Atonement,” as the Jews did, the more must the world increase in disobedience.

What was the state of the Jewish nation, when they had filled up the measure of their iniquity by their manifold atonements? It was this. *The prophets prophesied falsely, the priests ruled by their means and the people loved to have it so* (Jer. v. 31). And if Calvinism and Revivalism have not yet brought us to the same hopeless state as they brought the Jews, we are to all appearance rapidly approaching it. We shall not dwell on this sad picture, for our prophets and priests are at length preparing to set their houses in order, so that the present deplorable state of the Church and the world may be exchanged for a great day of reformation and regeneration.

The doctrine of sacrifice exclusively belongs to the Mosaic Dispensation, and it is because we have adopted that doctrine in a mitigated form in the Christian Dispensation, that a Reformation is now called for. We hope, therefore, that those who make objections to the new doctrine of the atonement will consider the matter maturely, for unless a complete change of that doctrine is effected, there can be no reformation. The object of the New Reformation is to make the world better, but if we are refused those doctrines which are indispensably necessary to effect that object, of course nothing can be done. Every man has a direct interest in the reformation of the doctrine of the atonement, and we trust no objections on that point will be offered, for if there are, the Reformation cannot be carried. Instead of Revival Meetings, let us have Reformation Meetings in every church and chapel of the empire, and the Reformation will be carried in less than a year.

We now conclude the theological part of this work. Essay No. 1 has shown what Religion ought to be, and No. 2 what it ought not to be. The result of the whole enquiry shows that there is ample room for a much greater reformation than the Reformation of Luther. Let us therefore rejoice, for that fact, once known, indicates that we are about to enter on a new era in which peace and good-will shall take the place of the evils which at present afflict society. Let us not look back with regret on the things that we are obliged to leave behind us, but rather forward to those that are before, lest we deprive ourselves of the benefits of a Reformation which are offered for the acceptance of all.

CHAPTER V.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

“They who sow bountifully, shall also reap bountifully.”

Look at the Books which form the stock of nine-tenths of our Libraries, and tell us the amount of reality to be found in them. This literature is the growth of the present century, and indicates a departure from reality and intelligence, and the abuse of the imagination. Now, what is the imagination to which these writings are addressed, and after the fashion of which the character of the age is being moulded? The best answer we can give is, that the abuse of the imagination is spiritualising over much, or rather spiritualising on nothing. We grant that the abuse of the imagination, like the abuse of everything else, has its peculiar pleasures; but we may rely upon it that these pleasures are obtained at the expense of the higher faculties. In the absence of knowledge and moral worth, the mind fills up the blank with the imagination,—a faculty to which one thing is as true as another; and so that the things imagined give pleasure, that is the great consideration.

The remedy for this state of society is very simple: let Free Public Libraries be established in every parish, in which works of fiction shall be excluded. Then the people will have free access to the best books, and authors will be encouraged to write books addressed to the intellect and good-sense of the people. One reason why novels are read more than any other books is the high price of good books compared with the price of novels and cheap literature. Would any one believe that in a great city like Brighton not a single library possesses a copy of Mill's “Liberty”? The only remedy is Public Libraries; and if we think the education of the people of any value, these libraries will be established. What is to prevent the Committee of Council on Education from assisting in the establishment of public libraries in the chief towns and cities of the empire, and to encourage authors by taking from five hundred to a thousand copies of every good book which comes out, for the supply of these libraries? That Committee spends £800,000 a year in teaching boys and girls to read and write, but gives nothing to keep up the education of those children after they leave school; and if the Privy Council would bestow a twentieth part of that sum on free libraries they would be repaid a thousandfold. That, we think, is the way to encourage Literature and Education among the people.

It was thought that Cheap Literature was only another word for the Diffusion of Knowledge, but alas! the very reverse has been the result. With the diffusion of books their quality has gone off—the public taste has been vitiated by trash, and no market is left for anything else. We have come to this, that all that is of value cannot be

had, and all that is worthless is forced upon us at every corner of our streets. Many of our readers may think we are too severe on the weaknesses of the age, but there is nothing like being candid, if we desire any reformation, and we shall be glad if any one will have the courage to say that we have drawn a picture which the actual state of Literature does not warrant. Nothing now can avert this downward course but the Public Libraries we propose. Mr. Milner Gibson has done good work in relieving knowledge from taxation: will he now lend us a helping hand in the establishment of these Libraries, without which all that has been done is worthless? That Lord Brougham and Mr. Gibson and a host of others should have paid so much attention to the diffusion of knowledge for the last thirty years, without at the same time doing something to improve its quality, is to us inexplicable. We are decidedly going backwards; and what our state will be this time ten years, if nothing be done to stay the evil, we leave our readers to say.

Oliver Goldsmith says, "Above all things never touch a Novel or Romance which paint beauty in colours more charming than nature, and describe happiness which man never tastes," and he might have added, *which never existed*. This remark of course can only apply to Novels which are not true to nature.

Our plan is this We intend to apply to the Privy Council for a grant of £10,000, which will be sufficient for the establishment of one hundred Libraries. Should this sum be granted, we undertake to dispose of it, to the best of our judgment, in the establishment of Libraries and Reading Rooms in the chief towns and villages of the country. We propose that the Provincial Libraries shall pay their own expenses, and that we shall supply them with books free of cost, as explained by the following Prospectus:—

1. The Library and Reading Room is to be supported by voluntary subscriptions, and its affairs are to be managed by a Committee, to be elected by the subscribers, who will pay the salary of the Librarian, the rent of the Rooms, and the cost of Newspapers and Periodicals.

2. The Committee will apply to the Reformation Society of London for the books they require for the original stock of the Library, and also, from time to time, for new books, free of charge.

3. All persons residing within three miles of the Library to be entitled to be members, without payment, on their presenting a card, filled up and signed by any respectable householder of the district; blank cards to be furnished by the Secretary or Church Warden.

4. The Library books and furniture, to be vested in the names of three Trustees, to consist of the Mayor or Magistrate, and such two others as may be chosen.

5. Every member to be entitled to not more than one volume at a time, and to have a right to frequent the Reading Room and Library between the hours of 10 A.M. and 10 P.M., subject to the Bye-Laws of the Library. Dictionaries and Books of Reference are not to be lent out, but read in the Library and Reading Rooms.

6. Although the books are to be supplied gratis by the Reformation Society, it is distinctly understood that that Society is not to exercise any control over the Library or the Committee of Management.

The only condition which the Society makes, is, that books of fiction shall not be introduced into the Library. To do that, would have the effect of defeating the object of inducing the people to avail themselves of the benefits of sound Literature, fitted to form and exalt the character.

To keep up the interest of the Libraries in their respective localities, it will be necessary to furnish them with a constant supply of new books. To supply the new books as they issue from the press, we propose to establish a great Central Library or *Depôt* in London, from which we shall lend to the Provincial Libraries such books as they may require, free of cost. The *Depôt* will consist of nothing but new books, of which from two hundred to five hundred copies of each book will be kept constantly in stock or in circulation. Such, then, is our scheme for establishing one hundred Libraries as a beginning, and of supplying them with the best New Literature.

To ensure the success of our Library scheme, we think it essential that the carrying it out should be placed in the hands of a private association, who will be responsible to the Government and the Public, in preference to its being undertaken directly by the Government. Now, as our Society is unconnected with any party either Political or Religious, it is in a position to do full justice to it; we trust, therefore, that the proposal now submitted to the consideration of the country, will meet with the cordial support and approval of all parties.

We are willing to take upon ourselves all the trouble and responsibility of conducting this, one of the most important measures for educating the people that was perhaps ever proposed in any country, and as our Annual Reports will place us under the control of public opinion and Parliament, the interests of the public will be carefully guarded.

We must explain that our object is not merely to encourage reading among the working classes, but also to provide the people with a comfortable and profitable place of resort, so as to divert them as much as possible from the public-house, which is at present the only place open to our artisans, on whose well-being the interests of the nation so much depend.

The following extract from the *Observer* is valuable, as a testimony, from one of our most esteemed journals, that the opinions we have expressed, as to the weakness of Literature, and the necessity for its reformation, are correct.

“Our author considers that, at this moment Literature is overrun with weeds, and in this he is certainly right—the sorriest trash being now the food of the public appetite for knowledge; and he advocates, as a remedy for this inundation of unhealthy books, the establishment of a free public library in every parish of the empire. ‘With the diffusion of books, their quality has gone off, the public taste has been vitiated by trash, and no market is left for anything else.’ In illustration of this proposition—and a pregnant illustration it is too—he says, ‘Would any one believe that in a wealthy and populous place like Brighton, not a single library possesses a copy of Mill’s ‘*Liberty*?’”—

Observer.

In conclusion, we have to request that those parties who may desire to have a Free Library established in their localities, will put themselves in communication with our Secretary—so that our hands may be strengthened when we come before the Privy Council for a grant. We shall tell that Council, that, if they will give us the money, we shall save millions, which would otherwise be spent on strikes among workmen, and other evils arising from the want of intelligence; and if we are supported by hundreds of applications for Free Libraries, we shall not be sent empty away.

Should the Committee of Council prefer to establish Public Libraries themselves, we shall have no objections, neither shall we be disappointed if they employ some other Society to do the work for them; on the contrary, we should prefer to be released from the undertaking. All we say is this, that if the Committee choose to entrust us with the money, we shall lay it out to the best of our judgment, in the manner we have specified in these pages.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

By J. M. CAYLA, of Paris.

The interest which for some time past has attached itself to religious questions has equalled, if it has not even surpassed, the question of politics. In fact, in all the states of Europe the question of Religion is the one great topic, and it is publicly and anxiously discussed.

It is not only against Austria and against the King of Naples that Italy has opposed herself, but also against the temporal power of the Pope,—so hostile to the independence of the Peninsula. In France the discussions upon the temporal power, and even upon the spiritual power of the Pope have taken such a form, that the project of constituting a National Church has been seriously proposed.

It may be truly said that we are arrived at a period of the world when Religion requires modifications and reforms like the time of the sixteenth century; and it is not only in Catholic countries that the necessity of modifying, or rather of regenerating, the old system is felt, for we find it in an equally strong degree among Protestants, and especially amongst our allies in Great Britain. This feeling is now almost universal in England; and the *New Reformation Society* has been established under the influence and patronage of parties of the highest position, and with the very best intentions. The treatise of Mr. Alison, of which we give the translation, very plainly indicates the spirit and objects of this Society, and the reasons which have made it almost indispensable.

Mr. Alison, who is the author of the *Philosophy and History of Civilization*, one of the most remarkable books, in all respects, of modern times, has extracted from it the principles of the New Reformation.

mation—and we hasten to make them known in France—by doing which we render a double service to our Catholic and Protestant fellow countrymen. The new Reformation is neither exclusive or intolerant, as nearly every other Religious Society hitherto formed has been.

On reading the pages of Mr. Alison's work we have felt almost a Divine inspiration; and we can imagine that we are at last approaching that happy epoch of toleration and brotherly love,—the glorious and sublime end of modern Civilization. These words of concord and peace, amidst the exciting discussions now going on, have caused us a most heartfelt joy, for they show us plainly that the day of true Christian fraternity is not far distant.

The treatise on the new Reformation addresses itself to Catholics as well as to Protestants. The writer, after having plainly shown that Religion requires to be regenerated, because it is no longer equal to the wants and aspirations of the nineteenth century; after having demonstrated that considering the immense advancement which has taken place during five hundred years in civilization generally, Religion alone ought not to remain in a state of utter immobility. Mr. Alison addresses himself first of all to the Protestant Churches, which is, as he truly informs us, the only portion of the state which has not been reformed since 1559.

Our author shows that the times in which we live are much more eventful from the importance of our discoveries, and by the rapid strides of our civilization generally, than the sixteenth century, and the brilliant epoch of the Renaissance. He is quite right—Protestantism requires to be reformed, and if Luther and Calvin could come again into the world, they would work 'along with Mr. Alison to make the Reformation perfect.

The great obstacle which all reformers have hitherto met with has been the impossibility of striking out a plan which would command general approval. Mr. Alison has happily triumphed over this obstacle, which was thought insurmountable; and the reason is, that he has founded his principles on the laws of toleration and love, which are as necessary to enable us to arrive at a peaceful end in religion, as ordinary laws are in civil matters. The writer does not propose to establish a court of justice to protect liberty of discussion; but he thinks, and he is quite right, that the reform of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Protestant Church will be sufficient; and that once accomplished, a visible improvement will take place in public morals and manners.

The chapter devoted to Roman Catholicism is equally conclusive and remarkable. Some passages in the treatise on Civilization demonstrate the false position which the Roman Catholic Church has placed itself in by its exaggerated pretensions; and he places the Roman Catholic question in its true light. Governments have learned to live in unity with one another, and what is practicable in politics, ought to be equally so in Religion.

The spiritual and temporal power of the Pope were established about the same time, and it is tolerably certain that they will fall together. But the question is, in what way can the Roman Catholic Church reform itself? The answer is, by the assembly of a Council General,

which would be one of the most important events of the age. Mr. Alison also very properly insists on the priests being allowed to marry; the book of prayer being translated into modern languages; the giving up of the confessional, of modern miracles, of the belief in purgatory, &c., &c.

We will not anticipate the decisions of the forthcoming Council General. Luther committed one great fault in changing in an arbitrary way the existing faith, instead of establishing it on certain principles. This great, and much to be regretted error has been the cause of the many controversies and schisms which have so frequently agitated the Protestant Church. By adopting the new Reformation, both Catholics and Protestants will escape the errors, the intolerance, and the priestly exaggerations which now so unhappily exist.

The writer consecrates his final chapter to the proper interpretation of the Bible. We will not anticipate by analysis, these religious axioms, in which the sublime ideas of the author will be found expressed with as much clearness as precision. Catholics and Protestants will find in them an ample harvest of good doctrine.

We do not hesitate to assert that the treatise on the new Reformation is a work of the most valuable description; and when the object proposed is attained, there will be established in Europe a Christian union under the happy influence of Toleration and Charity—virtues unknown among barbarous nations, and only practised by people really civilized. For too long a time have Protestants and Catholics looked upon each other as condemned to eternal damnation. Happily, the first call for Reformation comes to us from London, and this appeal will be listened to and felt by all sincerely Christian men, who care for progress and truth.

What is more than probable, is that this step, in doing away with the religious prejudices which have always existed, will have greater influence than any Government measures could have, in bringing France and England together in the bonds of common love. National hatreds and rivalry will soon be effaced and will disappear; and we doubt not that the concessions which have been already made in political matters, will serve as a lesson to be learned and adopted by Catholic priests and English clergymen. Treaties of Commerce and of friendship have been concluded. The flags of the two nations, so long rivals, have floated together, uniting their colours like the colours in a rainbow.

And truly, if the two Churches will agree to the reforms Mr. Alison points out so wisely, it will be one of the strongest pledges for the peace of the world. For there is little doubt, that the chief obstacle which has hitherto existed to that great end, has been the difference of religion, and the intolerance and bad feeling it has engendered.

The Alliance of France and England, those two heads of civilization—those two great centres of progress, will for ever be indissoluble, when the two nations shall have adopted one single reformed faith. This, indeed, is a great event to work for, and it would formerly have appeared impossible; but in these days, events march rapidly, and enormous changes are at hand. Blind faith in the Church doctrines has had its day, and now human reason will surely advance and reconquer its rights.

The initiative of this movement comes from Protestant England, which demands a Reformation; and it is now plain that Catholicism will take the same determination. The first step indeed is now being taken, and ere long the temporal power of the Pope, if not his spiritual power, will be at an end—a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Christ has said, "*Peace and goodwill among men.*" We say, in conclusion, to all Catholics and Protestants, Christianity ought no longer to be what was sufficient for the middle ages; it must no longer be left in the mire of the past, but it must be made to enter in its *purity* into the souls of all. Protestantism is imperfect, and Catholicism has its great defects. Let each take his part to enlighten and improve the people—to make them really better, first of all by the spirit of toleration, and then by new precepts combined with practice.

The new Reformation proposed by Mr. Alison, and the Society to which he belongs, seem to be able to carry out this great object,—and for that reason, we now lay before the people of France his most admirable work.

J. M. CAYLA,

Author of "The Pope and the Emperor."

PARIS, 10th February, 1861.

The important announcement now made by M. Cayla, that France is preparing to call a General Council of the Church, with a view to the establishment of a National Church, independent of Rome, is news of no ordinary character, for we may now look forward with confidence to a reformation of the Catholic Church all over Europe. When we remember the position of France, with regard to the Press, we can understand why the French public should have taken up the idea of a religious reformation with such avidity. France possesses no intelligible Articles of Religion, consequently Public Opinion and a Free Press were apt to become a Babel of tongues. The Emperor and his Ministers, ever anxious to give the people Liberty of discussion, doubtless desire a Code of Articles which may serve as a point around which discussion may cluster. The object of a definite code of opinions is not, of course, to dictate to the people what they are to believe and receive, but merely as an authorised standard around which their discussions may turn, for in legalising Articles of Religion, the right of private judgment will be recognised by these Articles. Such being the nature of the proposal which we have been the humble instruments of bringing under the notice of the French public, we are not surprised that our allies, who have been so long deprived of the privileges of a Free Press, should have welcomed it in the way they have done.

France cannot be FREE until she has Religious as well as Civil Liberty, and those who now so ably rule over the destinies of that great country know full well that it will be much easier to effect the object desired by carrying on a Religious as well as a Political Reformation, than if they were to confine their efforts to a Political Reformation, for to leave Religion unreformed is to leave behind them an element of discord which would sooner or later overturn any possible Civil Reformation that could be devised.

It is only deceiving ourselves to imagine that the Pope can be permanently dethroned as a King in Italy unless he is dethroned as a Universal Priest all over the world, for the Spiritual Kingdom will do battle for the Temporal Kingdom so long as it remains. The public spirit and wisdom of the Emperor is equal to the exigencies of the times over which he has been called to preside, for the day that Napoleon gave a FREE PRESS to France the knell of Catholic usurpation was virtually rung. Nothing can now save the Pope, but half measures on the part of his opponents, and if the liberal party are so blind as to attempt to carry on the Political Reformation without the aid which a Spiritual Reformation will give, they will not only deserve to lose the day, but will assuredly lose it. We are glad to see that our own press is beginning to read the signs of the times in a better spirit than heretofore, of which the following article from the *Times*, is an example:—

“We have no objection to be blamed, we should feel the greatest disgust at being praised, by such orators. (The ultramontane party in the French Parliament). Their taunts are as much without point as their menaces are without strength and their counsels without wisdom. We cannot wonder that those who counsel France to link her destiny with an exploded Theocracy, to ally herself with all that is retrograde and feeble among the Monarchies of Europe, should advise her to keep aloof from the alliance of such a country as England. We cannot wonder that those who are never weary of promulgating a policy of Selfishness and Jealousy, should select England—which has no obsolete party interest to serve, and no superannuated hatreds to gratify—as the mark of their rage and pointless denunciations. They, the Tory party, are worthy of their cause, and deserve to live under a Pope and a King of Naples, rather than under the existing government of France. The Emperor has no reason to regret that his opponents have shown themselves in their true colours. He has proved to the world that his policy can stand the test of the most rancorous public attack, and come out all the brighter from the ordeal. He has shown that he has no occasion to silence men who have only to speak freely to call down upon themselves the reprobation of the wise and good of all nations, and he has probably done much to reconcile France to his domination by giving her a convincing proof of the quality of the men from whose hands he has snatched her.”—*Times*, 14th March, 1861.

The following confirmation of the opinions so feelingly expressed by the *Times*, is from the *Presse*:—

“The English press has shown surprise at seeing the policy of the Government attacked with such violence and bitterness by those very men whom the Prefects had pointed out with so much solicitude to the electors. The first use which the old parties have made of the Liberty of the Press now restored to them is to attack liberty, and to preach the restoration of principles which admit neither the freedom of discussion nor of thought. The fact is, the Papal tory party of France are always the same; they neither advance nor recoil; they learn nothing and forget nothing. It is of no use to think of enlightening them, of reasoning with or of changing them. It is only time that can act on them, by causing their disappearance. England has taken more

than a century to rid herself of the partisans of the Stuarts ; she still has her incorrigible Irish, who yield in nothing for violence and unreasonableness to the French Legitimists and Ultramontanes. What is certain and tranquilizing is, that neither the one nor the other represents the majority of the two nations.”—*Presse*.

Some say that the Catholic Church will be the first to reform, others that the Protestant Church will be first ; but we say that the Reformation will in all probability go on simultaneously in both Churches, for it is impossible to conceive that the one Church can be reformed without producing a reformation of the other. As well suppose that a weight can be put into one scale without effecting the other scale.

We are entirely opposed to the Republican form of Government under any possible circumstances. Republics did not answer in Ancient times. In the Middle Ages they were a failure ; and now, in Modern times, we have probably seen the last of them, in witnessing the downfall of the great American Republic. The evil of a Republic is, that it creates ambition, envy, and jealousy, for every one expects to be President some day ; whereas, with a Hereditary King, that office is placed beyond the reach of all. This difference between the two systems is sufficient of itself to account for the success of the one form of Government, and the failure of the other. This opinion is fully supported by the experience of the great revolutionary years of 1848 and 1860. In 1848, a Republic was tried in France and Italy, and both attempts proved utter failures. In 1860, a Kingdom for all Italy was tried, and has entirely succeeded.

The object is, of course, not one form of Government more than another, but the Liberty of the People and the Peace of Europe ; and we trust the experience of the last twelve years has shown to a demonstration the vast superiority of a Constitutional Regal Government over any other form of Government whatever. We are satisfied, that if Garibaldi and his friends adopt the Republican policy this year, they will run the risk of losing all they gained last year ; whereas, if they take the opposite course, and tell us plainly and frankly what they are going to do, so that England may be united as one man in their favour, that their most sanguine wishes and expectations will be realised. The issue of the conflict will depend very much on the course England takes, for if this country was to be divided in opinion, and thus be forced to remain neutral, the liberal interest would be deprived of the aid of one of the Great Powers, and, without that aid, France and Italy will scarcely be able to contend successfully with their opponents. In these circumstances, it is of vital importance that the Liberals should be united in opinion as to the form of Government which is henceforth to form the policy of Europe.

With the exception of the Reformation movement all things betoken war, but let that movement spread itself over all Europe, and the causes of strife and war will be rooted out when universal war will be turned into universal peace.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

“There is nothing hidden which shall not be revealed.”

It has been said, that our movement is similar to the celebrated “*Essays and Reviews*,”—but, so far as we can understand that volume, we differ materially from it. On the doctrines of Free Will, Original Sin, and the Atonement, we seem to be as one, but on Conversion and Inspiration we apparently differ. The Essayists do not put forward their views as a complete system of theology; it, therefore, appears to us to be premature to judge of their scheme of reform until they have completed it—which they will probably do so soon as they feel them-at liberty to speak without reserve. As the *Essays and Reviews* disapprove of Revivalism and Puritanism, we do not see how they can consistently countenance Spiritualism—for, as already explained, Revivalism and Spiritualism are only two phases of Naturalism. In these circumstances, we must wait for a new issue of *Essays and Reviews* before we can offer any opinion beyond this, that they are essentially different from our Work.

We understand that Messrs. Parker and Son, the original publishers of the “*Essays and Reviews*,” have refused to go on with the publication in consequence of the interference of the Bishops and other members of the Convocation. This incident, which may be considered a species of persecution, shows the state of bondage in which the book press is, and we hope our mentioning the circumstance will be approved of, for publicity is the only way of achieving the liberty of the press. With regard to ourselves, we beg to say that if any of the Clergy have objections to make to our *Essays*, that they will answer them. If they have a good case it will bear the light, and if not, they will but consult their own reputation by remaining silent, and allowing us to proceed in peace with our work.

The trumpet of Reformation shall sound seven times; and if the opponents of reform and improvement are so much disconcerted by the first blast, what may we not expect when the trumpets which are yet to sound shall be heard. We are but at the beginning of the end; and if our opponents were wise they would take some better mode of effecting their purpose than by tampering with booksellers. Let such look to their flocks, for there they will find that religion only exists in name, and if they can account for this deplorable result, except in the want of a Reformation, we shall be greatly obliged to them to say so, for nothing but the necessities of the case would have induced us to take the trouble of reforming the Church.

An incident has just occurred in connection with the present movement, which is so characteristic of a section of the Protestant Church,

that we hope we may be allowed to mention it. One of these Tracts was handed to two clergymen, with a respectful request that they would read it over, and give us the benefit of their opinions. After two days, the Tract was returned to us, with a polite message to say, that it was not such as they could read. We have heard of this phase of intolerance among the Jews, and even among the Catholics, but we did not expect to find it among Protestants, more especially among Clergymen of the Church of England. The self-righteousness of the unbelieving Pharisees of old was nothing to this; for they listened to Christ, and put questions to him; but behold, the Pharisees of modern times will neither listen nor read. To such men the Gospel is not sent; for they that be whole need no physician.

If we should be told that it is Belief and not knowledge that is wanting, we answer that Belief is measured by knowledge. Where there is little knowledge there is little true belief; but where knowledge abounds true belief abounds. Such being the origin of true belief, it follows that the enlightenment of the world is all that is wanting to produce good and reduce evil.

Again, if we are told that we are destroying Fear, and make too much of love, we answer, that we read that love is destined to cast out fear. Fear and love are opposite feelings; and although fear may be good and necessary in an early stage of Civilization, it does not follow that man is always to be under that bondage. Let it not, however, be said that we cast away fear, for although we deny the existence of fire in hell, and the personality of Satan, we make man responsible for all his opinions, which the Church does not,—the only difference between the unreformed faith and ours, being in the things to be feared. In the Reformed Church, fear will not interfere with love, whereas, with our present faith fear and love run counter to each other, and bring the soul into bondage.

There is only one more objection which we must meet. We are told that we give too much to man, and too little to God—that in building up Human Nature we dethrone God. This is a grave charge but is it true. What are facts but truth, and the evidence of facts has compelled us to make the division we have made, for we have no choice in the matter. To assign to God any of the works of erring mortals, is not only to involve God in the sins of man, but to produce superstition, for what is superstition but belief in that which is opposed to reason and evidence. We may rely upon it that instead of honoring God by assigning the works of man to Him, we must dishonor Him; and if our readers will only look into this important matter in the light of their own experience, they will think as we think.

What is principle, what is conscience, what is the feeling of responsibility, yea, what is truth? Are not all these the spirit of God? and do not these pages bring that voice within the hearing of all? Those who are animated and governed by the spirit of truth become the temples of the living God, which cannot be said of those who ignore that principle. Let it not be said that we rob God that we may enrich man, for in exalting man we exalt our Maker.

Who is able to discover God to perfection, but he who is changed into His image. Do not say look here or look there, for behold God is

with you. A time shall come, and it may not be far off, when all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest, and it is by the progress of truth and its operation on the mind, that this sublime end of Religion and Civilization is to be reached. Let it not be said that by following the course of truth we keep God at a distance, which is so often said of those who attempt to reform Religion, for on the contrary, we bring God near, even within the experience of all who are willing to submit themselves to the rule and guidance of TRUTH.

Again, if we are told that we make man better than he really is, we say, look at the chapters we have written on Calvinism and Revivalism, and say if we could have written these if we thought man so very good. Is it not because we think man is in need of a Reformation, that we propose one?

We have said that the time of universal enlightenment is at hand, when darkness, error, and evil, will for the most part cease. Let us therefore wait with patience and hope, for we greatly mistake the signs of the times in which our lot is cast, if the glory of our day falls short of all we have said. What truth is more in accordance with scripture and experience than this—that man is a fellow-worker with his Maker for the production of good and reduction of evil in the world, and now that that great and glorious truth is fairly recognised, and is about to be carried out in practice, we cannot doubt that the Kingdom of Darkness will now actually come to an end. DARKNESS, that mystery of iniquity, the true ANTI-CHRIST, the god of this world, which ruleth over the nations, is about to fall; let us therefore look on with wonder and great joy, for great will be the fall thereof.

The reformation of opinions set forth in these Essays may be compared to a house which has been swept and newly furnished. The sweeping is the expulsion of the old opinions, and the refurnishing is the new opinions. In refurnishing, we clear out the accumulation of old furnishings, collected at different times and under different circumstances, none of which are in keeping; some are patched, some worn out, and none fit the places in which they stand, or answer the purposes they were intended to serve. Not so the new furniture, which is all of a piece. The old furniture is heavy, bulky, and always in the way; but the new is light, simple, and easily handled. The old furniture was made for ostentation rather than use, but the new is unpretending and useful.

The only direction which a Reformation in harmony with the Gospel can take is that of REASON, for to go in the opposite direction is to go to naturalism. In reforming the Jewish religion Christ introduced Reason, and in now returning to pure Christianity, Reason is once more introduced. It is the presence of Truth and Reason in religion which constitutes the offence of the Gospel; but that offence will cease so soon as the Reformation is carried, for it is only at first that the mind takes offence when it is called on to reform its opinions.

In the compilation of this work we have not forgotten the religious wants of the people, both rich and poor, neither have we forgotten the wants of those who are to come after us. The Reformation of Cranmer and Latimer has continued to be the Religion of the Land for three hundred years; and it may be that the Reformed Religion will continue

the religion of future generations for a similar period, and keeping this in view we have endeavoured to make the Reformation as complete and comprehensive as it was in our power to make it. Bit and bit reforms are not possible in religious movements, as they are in matters of less importance; for unless we can place Religion on a satisfactory footing once for all, it would be better not to touch it, for that would only unsettle everything without settling anything.

Some will be apt to reply that if the Reformed Religion is true, it will last for ever, and why then speak of limiting its duration? To this we reply that although we have made our system as good and true as it was in our power to make it, we do not say that it is perfect, on the contrary, we think that after the lapse of time, it will require retouching. Truth is a word of comparison. We have good, better, best; we have likewise true, truer, truest. Finality belongs not to man, for if he is a progressive being, his knowledge of truth must always be susceptible of encrease.

The majority of the Clergy are anxious to see the Church thoroughly reformed, of which Lord Ebury's movement for the reformation of the Prayer Book, and the Oxford movement for a revision of the Articles, is the evidence. Our movement embraces whatever we have found good in both movements; and while these conflicts are going on within the Church, we are extending the Reformation to the Laity, as well as to the Clergy. The Clergy see no fruits of all their labors; for so long as hatred usurps the place of love, there are no fruits, and to conscientious men this is a sad trial; accordingly, they desire a Reformation of the Church.

The Rev. Mr. Spurgeon tells us that a Reformation is impossible, and yet we had a Reformation in the sixteenth century; and if a Reformation was possible in one century, it is possible in another. That a man professing to be a Minister of the Gospel should delude his congregation in this way is truly deplorable. The obvious meaning of this is—Our Religion is truth, and truth admits of no improvement—we are perfect, and need no reform. If the preacher had said we desire no reformation, we could have understood him; but when we are told that a Reformation is impossible, what can we say? Should these lines meet the eye of the reverend gentleman, we trust he will be able to give some explanation of so extraordinary a statement.

We do not rely either on the press or the pulpit for success, for the powers that be are rarely or ever reformers, but we confidently rely on the Power of Truth, which like a hammer breaketh the rocks in pieces. By means of Tracts we shall bring the truth to bear on the public mind, and by Petitions, we shall act on the Legislature, and in due time we shall gather in a plentiful harvest.

That the public have few real friends, is a fact we all know and acknowledge; for all are too apt to seek their own interests rather than the interests of the public. We have more than enough of reformers of that which can do the public no good; but we have few or no reformers of that which would benefit all classes, both high and low. Instead of being thanked for their work, true Reformers are usually covered with the reproaches of those who ignorantly imagine that their interests are to be injured by reform. We say ignorantly,

for it cannot be that any real reform can actually injure the interests of any one. On the eve of a great reformation it is right we should mention these things; for the progress of the present movement depends on the encouragement which the public give to those who interest themselves in its promotion. The Society itself can do little without the countenance and support of the public at large; for, while the harvest is great, the labourers are, as yet, comparatively few. The liberal mind deviseth liberal things; and if the public meet this appeal in the spirit in which it is made, we shall all live to see man raised to his true position, as the masterpiece of his Maker's work here below.

PROSPECTUS.

THE NEW REFORMATION SOCIETY.

The object of this Association is the general enlightenment of all classes on the subject of Politics and Religion. Ignorance being the great cause of the evils existing in the world, the Reformation Society will not cease in its efforts to reduce ignorance and delusion.

1. All Subscribers to be considered Members of this Society.
Subscribers of One Guinea to be Life Members, and of Five Guineas to be Governors.
2. Members shall enjoy special privileges in the purchase of the Society's Publications, of which particulars shall be given.
3. Provincial Societies will be entirely independent of the Metropolitan Society.
4. The London Society will correspond with the Provincial Societies, and render them every assistance in its power.

The two great practical objects which are to engage the attention of the Society are the following—

- I. To carry the CHURCH REFORM BILL for the Reformation of the Thirty-nine Articles through Parliament.
- II. To establish FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES in all the towns and cities of the kingdom, consisting of the best literature of the day.

We know of no difficulty in completing our work but the want of funds, and we feel assured that we have only to make this known to call forth the liberal contributions of every friend of civil and religious liberty and progress.

With a revenue of £5,000 a year for five years, we may almost promise to complete our work. Prevention is ever better and less expensive than cure. For every thousand pounds spent on "prevention," millions will be saved on "cure," and as the New Reformation movement is entirely preventive, we trust the comparatively small sum we ask will be freely given for so good and so noble a cause.

Subscriptions may be sent to ALEXANDER ALISON, Esq., Chairman of the Committee, 4, Cannon Place, Brighton; to the Treasurer of the Society, G. DEAN, Esq., 27, New Broad Street, City, London; or paid to the credit of the Society, at the London and Westminster Bank.

NEW REFORMATION SOCIETY'S OFFICE,

25, Conduit Street, W.

20th March, 1861.

THE
POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

OF

1860 & 1861

IN

EUROPE AND AMERICA.

"It is the business of a Journal to be hopeful, to expect prosperity,
and to teach progress."—*The Times*.

ESSAY No. 3.

L O N D O N :

SOLD BY GEO. H. NICHOLS, EARL'S COURT,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

1861.

P R E F A C E .

The grand object of the reformation movement is the reformation of Civilization. Now what is Civilization but the improvement of Nature?—the one being built on the other. Nature means the absence of legislation; and Civilization the effect of legislation. It follows therefore that we must look to legislation mainly for the reformation of Civilization.

Political writers have of late years run into the error of assuming that the evils of Civilization have arisen from over-legislation. They say, let us alone and all will go right; but that idea has been proved by experience to be a fallacy, for when things are left to take their own course they usually take a bad course. The fact is, the evils of society arise not from the excess of legislation, but from the want of legislation; and this is amply proved by the passive nature of our own government, which permits evils to grow up faster than their legislative remedies are applied.

What has caused the Revolutions of 1848, and those of 1860 and 1861, which we are to treat of, but the want of legislation?—for if the necessary reforms had been previously carried out, these disastrous events could not have occurred.

The more population increases, and the greater the area over which Civilization extends itself, the more necessary does legislation become; we must therefore not content ourselves with such legislation as was sufficient for times in which population was less dense, but go boldly forward to meet the new wants of society in a manner commensurate with their increase.

A reformation may come with or without a revolution. Where no reformation can be carried a revolution must come, but wherever a state has sufficient vigour to carry a reformation before it is too late, that prevents a revolution. And it is to those countries where there is no revolution, as well as to those where there is, that these pages are addressed.

London, May 25th, 1861.

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POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE AMERICAN REFORMATION.

The object of the present Essay is to give an account of the various political Revolutions going on in Europe and America, and the means which ought to be taken to bring these movements to a satisfactory conclusion. There is a peace which means the rule of the sword and despotism; and there is a peace which means Liberty and Goodwill. To sit down and allow things to take their course, is certain to produce the peace of despotism; but if reformers step in and support the cause of true reform, the issue will be the peace of Liberty; and it is with the object of producing this result that we venture to come forward with our plans of reform, both in Church and State.

It has often been said that a pure Democracy would never answer upon so large and complicated a scale as that of America, but the reasons why have never been very clearly stated. The unfortunate issue of the American Republic has fully justified these evil prognostications, but it remains to be shown why it should be so. Our previous essays have demonstrated that without a national code of opinions to define the basis on which public opinion is to act, that full liberty cannot be attained, especially in a nation which has no National Church, and this has been proved beyond doubt in the present deplorable state of anarchy into which the American nation has fallen.

Truth and Liberty are or ought to be the objects to be sought in any government, and we are prepared to show, and to prove, that without a Regal Government and a National Church these ends cannot be realized, and it is solely with the view of effecting these objects that we come forward as the advocates of Royalty, not only in America, but in all other countries. It is quite certain that if Royalty is the best form of government for England and France, it will be the best for America, and we repeat we are prepared to prove that such is beyond all comparison the best.

Captain Maury, of New York, in treating of the Science of Weather, tells us that we must treat of the atmosphere as one whole; and in treating of the Science of Civilization, which it is our object to reform,

we must treat of the race of Man as one whole. Every nation and every individual has reference to every other nation and every other individual, and when in our present Essay we are found to be writing first of America, next of Italy, and then of Turkey, the reader must understand that we do so in order to treat of Man as a whole, and make all nations contribute to the general good of the World. Without further preface, we shall at once address ourselves to the great and difficult question of America and its Government.

The United States, as such, exists no longer. The Union of thirty-two States, which has existed over eighty years, has abruptly come to an end, and the wonder is, not that so unholy an alliance should have terminated at last, but that it should have gone on so long. From the first it was rightly predicted that the Free States would eventually separate themselves from the Slave States, and although such an unequal union has gone on longer than Truth and Reason foresaw, yet the result has shown that Truth and Justice, in the long run, will and must prevail.

Union is all very well, but we may pay too much even for a good thing, and that the Free States should have consented so long to be yoked together with the Slave States, only proves that the Americans in professing Liberty were not sincere. Had the American nation been true to their professions of Liberty, they would long ago have told the Slave States that unless they put away slavery they must leave the Union. Although this was the natural result, yet predicted events rarely happen in the way people expect, and the disruption we have just witnessed is a notable example of the fact. The secession has not originated with the Free States, but with the Slave States, but although the movement has come from the wrong quarter, yet we hail it as one of the greatest events in the march of Civilization and Liberty of which history has any example.

The first thing to be done is to raise the cry of NO SLAVERY, and to pass an Act of Congress declaring Slavery at an end. President Lincoln is about to send an army into the Slave States, and this army must carry the banner of "No Slavery." The opportunity of putting an end to slavery is now offered to every true-hearted American, and we trust the opportunity will not be allowed to pass unimproved. The slaves, which number no less than four millions of souls, have a right to be free, and if the Army of Freemen goes forth as a liberating army, the war will not only be speedily brought to an end, but the black population will be freed. Presuming that such will be the glorious termination of the civil war now going on, let us ask what ought to be the future government of America, for it is obvious that the whole subject must now be reconsidered, and placed on a different basis to that from which it has just fallen.

Republicism has been tried in America and has signally failed, so that form of Government must be abandoned. A constitutional Government, presided over by a King, is unquestionably the best form of government which has been discovered by man, and there is no reason why America should not adopt that form. The Republic,

instead of producing real liberty, has destroyed liberty. Let the Americans become Royalists, and they will enjoy a degree of liberty which all experience proves to be impossible with a Republic. But not only will a Regal Government be more free, but it will likewise be much less expensive. At present, America consists of thirty-two petty states, each with its President and Parliament, and a host of officials, who consume the earnings of the people, whereas with a Regal Government, there will be only one President, the King, and one set of officials. Simplicity is the soul of any government, and with one government instead of thirty-two, real unity will be accomplished, and the welfare and progress of the country guaranteed. We do not say that America should copy the Constitution of England, for that has many faults which produce a government much too passive to meet the wants of modern civilization,—no, let America adopt a constitution for themselves free from the faults of the existing Governments of Europe, and they will show themselves worthy of their high destiny, and teach us a lesson which we shall gladly follow.

It will be found that truth and right always lie between extremes, and keeping this axiom in view, it will be the wisdom of the people of America not to make the future kingdoms too large. The United States would make at least three large kingdoms:—1st. New York and the Free States; 2nd. Carolina and the Gulf States; and 3rd. California and the States beyond the Rocky Mountains. But the question will now be asked, in the event of these countries resolving to become independent kingdoms, who are to be their Sovereigns, and how are they to be chosen? We say, let the Kings be elected by *Universal Suffrage*, as in Italy, and let the nominees be chosen from the Royal Families of Europe. We are confident that the Governments of Europe would give every encouragement to the carrying out of this scheme, and if the hopes of the New York States should rest on an English Prince for their Sovereign, it is not impossible that England would cede Canada to New York, and thus what she loses in the south she will gain in the north.

We trust the American people will consider this important matter, not in the light of habit and prejudice, but as to what is best for their own interests, and for the interests of future generations. What is a Constitutional Government such as England, but a mixture of Republicanism and Royalty—it has all the benefits of a Republic without its evils, and if such is really true, we cannot doubt that America will vote for a Revolution in favor of Royalty.

We now come to the no less important question of a National Church, for without such, America cannot possess a Code of Articles, and without articles liberty of thought and discussion has nothing to protect it from intolerance. There are two kinds of Liberty—1st. the liberty of nature, which is not liberty rightly so called, for it is only liberty to oppress our neighbours. 2nd. The liberty of civilization, which means submission to the rules of truth, justice, and toleration. At present, America, where there is no National Church and no Code of Articles, may be said to have the liberty of nature, but not that liberty which belongs to a high state of civilization. And it is to exchange the latter

for the former that we say America should at once call a general assembly of the Clergy and Laity with the object of constituting a National Church.

The question now arises whether the proposed National Church should be Episcopal, governed by Bishops, or Presbyterian, governed by Clergymen. When we look to the New Testament we find that both forms of Church Government are equally scriptural, we are therefore free to choose either. Now as a Presbytery in the Church is analogous to a republic in the State, and Episcopacy is analogous to Royalty, it follows that the American Church ought to be episcopal if the State Government is to be Regal; and for these reasons, we say the New Church ought to be episcopal. Its constitution would probably be to the following effect:—

1st.—The Crown to be head of the Church, with right to call Councils, and take the initiative in all changes of the Church's constitution.

2nd.—The Bishops and other Dignitaries of the Church to be chosen by the Crown. The Parochial Clergy and Lay Deacons by the People.

3rd.—The temporalities of the Church to be vested in the Houses of Parliament, and the spiritual interests in the General Assembly of the Church.

4th.—The General Assembly to be called at least once every three years by Royal Writ, and to be dissolved by the same.

5th.—Two clergymen and twelve deacons to be appointed to each parish. The clergy to have charge of the spiritual interests, and the leacons of the temporal interests, including Education, and the care of the poor and sick.

6th.—Books of Articles, Services, and Canons, to be prepared, and sanctioned by the Crown and Parliament.

7th.—No acts of the Crown anent the affairs of the Church to have the effect of law, unless they are ratified by both Houses of Parliament.

Supposing this Act to be passed, let us see how it would work. Clergymen of all denominations of Christians would be entitled to become Clergymen of the National Church on signing the Books of Articles, Services, and Canons, when they would be appointed to various parishes. The Clergy so appointed might either receive their stipends from the Government, or depend on voluntary contributions as at present, as might be thought best.

Of course, those Clergymen who prefer to remain as they are will be allowed to do so. They will then be Dissenters, who will enjoy all the rights and privileges they now possess, and be recognized as such by Acts of the Legislature. Those Clergymen who decline entering the National Church would thus have no cause to regret its establishment,—for if they do not join it, that will be their own fault.

Such then is the outline of a scheme of Church and State Reform, which will be found to be based on principles which are both liberal and conservative.

America, like England, has not made a single reform in any of her numerous creeds—all are left to go from bad to worse, never from evil to

good. No reformers have arisen throughout the length and breadth of the vast continent of America, to lead her sons to victory over her prejudices and errors, which abound in her churches and sects. The natural consequences of this state of immobility are soon told. Selfishness, intolerance, and hypocrisy, are the ruling passions. True Religion is practically lost, and over its ruins are built Revivalism, Calvinism, and Spiritualism. In England we plead guilty to the same sins, and lest our American readers may think us too severe, we shall proceed to prove all we have said from one of the best of their own writers—the talented author of “Representative Men” and the “Conduct of Life.”

Mr. Emerson says:—“We live in a transition period, when the old faiths which made nations have spent their force. I do not find the religion of men at this moment very creditable to them, but either childish and insignificant, or unmanly and effeminating. The fatal trait is the divorce between religion and morality. Here are know-nothing religions, or churches that proscribe intellect; scortatory religions; slave-holding and slave-trading religions. The lover of the old religion complains that our contemporaries, scholars as well as merchants, succumb to a great despair—have corrupted into a timorous conservatism, and believe in nothing. In our large cities, the population is godless, materialized,—no bond, no fellow-feeling, no enthusiasm. These are not men, but hungers, thirsts, fevers, and appetites walking. How do people manage to live on—so aimless are they?

A silent revolution has loosed the tension of the old religious sects, and, in place of the gravity and permanence of those societies of opinion, they run into freak and extravagance. In creeds never was such levity; witness the heathenisms of Christianity,—the Revivals,—the Mormons,—the squalor of Mesmerism,—the delirium of Rappings.

All the great ages have been ages of Belief. When great national movements began, when arts appeared, when heroes existed, when poems were made, the human soul was in earnest, and had fixed its thoughts on spiritual verities.

The religion which is to guide and fulfil the present and coming ages, whatever else it be, must be intellectual. Let us have nothing now which is not its own evidence. There is surely enough for the heart and imagination in Religion itself. Let us not be pestered with assertions and half-truths, with emotions and nonsense.

There will be a New Church founded—a babe in a manger again, the algebra and mathematics of ethical law, the church of men to come; it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for its symbol and illustration; and it will gather beauty, music, picture, poetry.

Our author speaks of incorporating Science with Religion, but it will be remembered that the science which he intends is a very different thing from the science now in vogue, a sentiment which has our entire concurrence. He says: “Our Books approach very slowly the things we most wish to know. What a parade we make of our science, and how far off is it from its proper objects.

The motive of science is the extension of man, on all sides, into Nature till his hands shall touch the stars, his eyes see through the

earth, his ears understand the language of beast and bird, and the sense of the wind; and through his sympathy heaven and earth shall talk with him. But that is not our science. These geologies, chemistries, astronomies seem to make wise, but they leave us where they find us. The invention is of use to the inventor, of questionable help to any other. The formulas of science are like the papers in your pocket-book, of no value to any but the owner. *Science in England, and America, is jealous of theory, hates the name of love and moral purpose.* There's a revenge for this inhumanity, for what manner of man does it produce?

All our science lacks a human side. The tenant is more than the house. Bugs, and stamens, and spores, on which we lavish so many years, are not finalities. The human heart concerns us more than the poring into microscopes, and is larger than can be measured by the pompous figures of the astronomer. In confirmation of all this, we give a beautiful passage from the "Westminster Review" of October.

"Religion, to regain the world, must not only be not contrary to Science, but it must be in entire and close harmony with science. Not with one science only, but with all. Not only must it have a place beside philosophy, morals, and politics; but it must guide and elevate all these. Religion, to have strength, must have a Doctrine; and a doctrine, to endure now, must embody the outgrowth of human thought. If it be not distinctly proved therefrom, it must at least flow from and sum up the whole. Its intellectual basis must be broad and unimpeachable. The highest efforts of the brain must guide the best promptings of the heart."

We agree with Mr. Emerson, that science as it now exists is robbed of its counterpart, for its facts are never traced up to their divine origin. Our scientific men busy themselves with collecting facts, never of making use of the facts already collected. Now as all new knowledge of truth comes from thinking, and not from collecting, science must take a new and more extended phase before it can touch the heart; in short, it must become theological before it can be generally useful to man.

Lest it is said that, by quoting Emerson and the Westminster, we are playing into the hands of the opponents of Scripture, we annex the opinions of an eminent professor of divinity of the Free Church, who is quite as liberal as any class of men we know. Dr. McCosh says: "We have often mourned over the attempts made to set the word against the works of God, and thereby excite, propagate, and perpetuate jealousies, fitted to separate parties that ought to live in closest union. In particular, we have always regretted that endeavours should have been made to depreciate Nature with the view of exalting Revelation; it has always appeared to us to be nothing else than the degrading of God's works."—*Method of the Divine Government.*

We have next a description of Human Nature, which will help the reader to discover himself.

The fossil strata show us that Nature began with rudimental forms; and rose to the more complex, as fast as the earth was fit for their dwelling-place. Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We call these millions men; but they are not yet men. Half-engaged

in the soil, pawing to get free, man needs all the music that can be brought to disengage him. If Love with tears and joy; want with his scourge; war with his cannonade; Christianity with its charity; trade with its money; art with its portfolios; science with her telegraphs, can set his dull nerves throbbing, and by loud taps on the tough chrysalis, break its walls, and let the new creature emerge erect and free, the age of the brain and the heart will come in. Man is to convert all impediments into instruments, all enemies into power. And if one may read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, we shall dare affirm that there is nothing he will not overcome and convert, until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and gehenna. He will convert the furies into muses, and the hell into benefit.

We conclude with a few excellent hints on the conduct of life:—

“*The basis of good manners is Self-reliance.* Necessity is the law of all who are not self-possessed. Those who are not self-possessed obtrude, and pain us, they appear to feel that they belong to a Pariah caste, they fear to offend, they bend and apologize.

Manners require time, as nothing is more vulgar than haste. Friendship should be surrounded with ceremonies and respects, and not crushed into corners. Friendship requires more time than poor busy men can usually command. *A little Integrity is better than any Career.*”

Having indicated the causes of the present troubles in America, and the remedy for them, we shall conclude with some remarks on the war.

The French Revolution was bad enough, but unless something adequate to the exigencies of the present crisis be adopted, the evils in store for America may even exceed those of France in 1789. A nation, with a population of thirty millions, and a country the size of all Europe, in a state of anarchy and civil war, is a fearful thing to contemplate, and when we remember the corruptions which have grown up with its defective Constitution, which will add fuel to the fire which is devouring the land, it becomes us to throw our prejudices to the moles and the bats, and sit down like men and see what can be done to stop the evil. Half measures will do no good, for nothing less than a Revolution will be powerful enough to furnish a remedy for so great an evil.

Our advice is this. Let the Congress meet and appoint a Dictator, and then dissolve. Let them appoint General Scott, or some other military man of judgement and experience, in whom they have confidence to the responsible office, and leave it to the Dictator to put down the rebellion and give a new Constitution to his country. There is no other resource left, if life and property are to be saved; and in adopting the alternative of a Dictatorship in the present emergency, the American people will follow an example which was invariably followed by success both in ancient and modern times.

These are not times to be trifled with, when the very existence of society and civilization is at stake. Only conceive the state of affairs if Washington and New York were in the hands of the rebels, when slavery and despotism would be introduced into every state of the Union, for that may be the issue if Congress continues to govern the country in times like these. A Republic may get on very well in or-

dinary times with no civil war to introduce anarchy and confusion into its councils; but when war is at the door, a republic is practically inoperative, as has been so often proved in France. We say, let Congress be immediately dissolved, and let a Dictator take its place who will proceed to put down the rebellion in the south, and divide the Union into three Kingdoms, in the manner we have ventured to suggest, or in any other way that may be thought best for the interests of all parties.

Let a Reformation Society be immediately established in New York, with ramifications throughout the length and breadth of the land. No time is to be lost; for since the world began, never did such an opportunity for good present itself,—and we must be careful to take the tide at its flow if we wish to gain the prize. We recommend our American readers to consult Mr. Alison's work on Civilization, where full details on every subject connected with politics and religion are to be found; they may likewise peruse our Essays, Nos. 1 and 2, which contain a code of Articles suitable for the proposed National Church of America.

Whatever happens, one thing is certain, that American Slavery will come to an end. Compromises of all kinds will be tried, but all will fall to the ground which are not based on emancipation. It would occupy too much space to explain how this should be so, but we have thought of every alternative, and have always come to the same result. If the Southern States wish to anticipate the compulsory emancipation of the slaves by a voluntary act, either with or without compensation, there is nothing to prevent their doing so. Let each of the Southern States forthwith liberate their slaves, and compensate the Slave owners by *assignats*, to be issued by the respective State Governments. These assignats to bear interest, and be negotiable in the market like other state bonds. If the Southern States promptly, and in good faith, act upon this suggestion, it will remove the great barrier to peace, and we sincerely trust they will adopt it.

In addressing our friends in America in their present trials and afflictions, we hope our sympathies will be all the more prized when they are accompanied with suggestions which may open the way for a great deliverance. Authors are much too reserved in giving forth their plans for improving the world. From the want of moral courage they are apt to withhold their best thoughts, and thus the world is left to grope its way in the dark. It is our wish to break through this reserve, and in now laying our plans frankly before the public, we shall put humanity to the test as to its capacity for a higher state of civilization than it has yet realized. It is because we think the world capable of all we have desired, that we have come before it in the garb of reformers. And we know that we shall not be disappointed,—for it is not the want of practice, so much as the want of precept, that the world instead of advancing is going backwards. It is an old proverb, that "*When things come to the worst they begin to mend*;" and it is to give consistency to the tendency to re-action and reformation which is now so visible throughout Europe and America, that we take our stand in the cause of a General Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

LOW CHURCH AND HIGH CHURCH.

“By their fruits ye shall know them.”

If we may venture to give a definition of the terms “*Low Church*” and “*High Church*” we should say that the one term describes the party who take a low opinion of man’s capacity; and the other, those who take a higher opinion of that capacity. Without waiting to discuss definitions, which we have a particular dislike to do, we shall at once describe the two parties, beginning with the Low Church. We propose to give a series of extracts from the preaching of Mr. Spurgeon, who is a leader of the Calvinists, and may be taken as a good representative of the Low Church party. The Discourse we are now to revise will be found in No. 212 of the New Park Street Pulpit, where the preacher enters into all the fundamental doctrines.

Mr. Spurgeon begins with giving us his opinions of God. He next descends to man, whom he places almost on a level with the lower animals. He then proves that man is incapable of reformation; and lastly, that all reformation must come in a miraculous manner, and not in a natural way, as predicted by Bishop Butler in his *Analogy of Nature and Revelation*. Mr. Spurgeon says:—

“Many men are forgotten, despised, and trampled on by their fellows; but never was man so despised as the everlasting God. Many a man has been slandered and abused, but never was man abused as God.”

The preacher here unwittingly proclaims a truth, viz.—that we heap our sins upon God until He is represented to be no better than man. Calvinism makes God judge men irrespective of their works; and if our Maker really judges man irrespective of his being good or bad, as the Calvinists say, He would be an evil God, or rather not a God at all—for a God that is capable of evil is not a God, but a devil. So much for the character of God,—let us now turn to man:

“The very beasts are better than man—for man has all the worst attributes of the beasts and none of their best. He has the fierceness of the lion without its nobility; he has the stubbornness of an ass without its patience; he has all the devouring gluttony of the wolf without the wisdom which bids it avoid the trap. He is a carrion vulture, but is never satisfied; he is a very serpent with the poison of asps beneath his tongue, but he spits his venom afar off as well as nigh. If you think of human nature as it acts towards God, you will say indeed it is too bad to be mended.”

Here the preacher, in reviling man reviles his maker,—for if there is no good in man, the masterpiece of God's works, it is certain there can be no good in God—for every tree may be judged by its fruits. Not only is man bad, but, what is a great deal worse, he cannot better himself:—

“Human nature is too far gone to be mended. It is not a house that is a little out of repair. No, it is rotten throughout—the very foundations have been sapped; there is no soundness in it, but all rottenness. God doth not attempt to mend; but he determines that the old house shall be entirely swept away, and that he will build a new one.

It is quite certain that human nature cannot be made better, for many have tried it, but have always failed. A man trying to improve human nature, is like trying to change the position of a weathercock, by turning it round to the east when the wind is blowing west; he has but to take his hand off and it will be back again to its place. I have seen a man trying to restrain nature—he is an angry, bad-tempered man, and he is trying to cure himself a bit, yet it burns within his bones till they grow white with the heat of malice, and there remains within his heart a residuum of the ashes of revenge. You may try and reform, dear friends, but you will find you cannot do it, and, remember, even if you could, still it would not be the work which God requires, for He will not have reformation.”

The reason why Mr. Spurgeon does not succeed in changing the weathercock is that he turns it in a *false* direction. Let him turn it in the *true* direction, and he will find that although the winds and the waves beat upon it, it will stand secure; for it will then be founded on a rock, even the rock of truth.

Mr. Spurgeon has tried the experiment of reformation on himself, but instead of getting better, he only gets worse and worse. The reason of this is obvious. He is ignorant, not only of the constitution of Human Nature, but of the whole scheme of the Gospel which has been provided for its reformation and redemption. It is quite certain, that neither Mr. Spurgeon nor any one else can improve, so long as they deny man's capacity for improvement. Only think of a man being able to ascend to the top of Mount Blanc, who denied the possibility of such a feat.

Mr. Spurgeon makes a difference between Reformation and Renovation, but that is a distinction without a difference. Improved opinions and beliefs produce new and better feelings as a natural consequence, and that is renovation as well as reformation. The testimony of fact and experience are sufficient to establish all we now affirm, so we may easily set aside the sophistries of the Calvinists on that point.

But while Mr. Spurgeon denies to man the power of self-improvement, he admits that God has that power, by means of what he calls Irresistible Sovereign Grace, but which in plain language is “*Miraculous Grace*.” Here are his words:—

To sanctify a man is the work of the whole life, but to give a new heart is the work of an instant. In one solitary second, swifter than the lightning flash, God can put a new heart into a man, and make him a new creature. You may be sitting where you are to-day, an enemy to

God, with a wicked heart within; but, if the Lord wills it, the living spark shall drop into your soul, and in that moment you will begin to tremble, to feel, to confess your sin, and fly to Christ. Regeneration is the instantaneous work of God's sovereign, effectual, and irresistible grace."

In our former Essay, we said that Calvinism made man nothing, and here that statement is fully verified. The possibility of self-improvement and self-reformation is taken away, and nothing is left to man but to remain passive, and wait for miracles to be performed in his behalf. This is no trifling matter, and we wish to speak plainly, for until the people get rid of reliance on modern miracles, they will never improve.

To prove that the Calvinist party, which forms the mass of the nation, believe in miracles, we need only quote from the Record newspaper, which is the recognised organ of the party:—

"The great doctrine of the New Reformation is, 'That while the gospel is Miraculous in its origin, the effect of the gospel on the soul is Natural.' To the first part of this doctrine the Oxford Essayists barely, if at all, assent, and from the second part, we doubt not, 'Drs. Candlish, Cunningham, and Guthrie,' will most cordially dissent. The Gospel acts in a Natural manner according to the constitution of the human mind, but its acting at all is Supernatural—its effect is as miraculous as its origin."

We may explain that Mr. Alison, in his work on Civilization, mentions that he learned the new doctrine of Conversion from Dr. Candlish, of Edinburgh, a statement which has been before the world for six months without any refutation, and that being so, we are entitled to assume that the statement is correct. We can only find room for one more extract from Mr. Spurgeon:—

"We all deserve to be damned. If God damnth us, not a single word will be heard against His doing it. We lie entirely in His hands, like a moth that lies under the finger. What reflections ought to cross our minds, if we believe that?"

We are asked if we can believe that; and we can only reply that we do not believe one word of it. We believe that our God is a good and just God, and that He will choose those whom He will save solely in consequence of their works, with special reference to their abilities and opportunities. Let us remind Mr. Spurgeon, and all who think with him, that no other belief is consistent with belief in a perfect God, and as we believe in a good God, we reject Mr. Spurgeon's teaching in every particular. Let the preacher apply the test of God's perfections to one and all of his doctrines, and he will find he has not one doctrine left, for from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no soundness in him.

Let us imagine a stranger from a distant country coming to London—a Christian, free from the malady of Calvinism. What would such a person say after he had been to the Great Tabernacle, and heard the great preacher of the day? He would say, I have heard of the follies of Calvinism and Puritanism, but now that I hear them from their own lips, I can say that the half had not been told me. Man is laid flat on

his face, and those who try to lift him up, are denounced, instead of being praised for their help.

We have now given a brief, and we hope a faithful account of the Religion of nine-tenths of the English people; and with a Religion which teaches men to remain *passive*, instead of using the powers with which they are endowed, we need not wonder that the world is so bad, nor need we wonder that a new Reformation to improve man is universally called for. We read that a tree may be known by its fruits, and proving our Religion by that test, it is bad indeed. We have letters from all parties in the Church, and all agree in one thing, that man is universally bad, and that although they have tried everything to improve him, he, instead of getting better, only gets worse; and we hope these Essays may help our correspondents to discover the reason why man is bad, and why they cannot make him better.

It has often been said that it is practice that is at fault, but never was there a greater mistake. The quotations we have given from Mr. Spurgeon are the proof that precept is at fault, and that accounts for the want of better practice in the world. We say, therefore, let us improve precept and practice will improve, as the one is the cause of the other.

We now pass from the Low Church to the High Church, where we shall discover an entire change of Religion from that we have been considering.

Great difficulties have been felt in describing the High Church, for although in one sense that party is *more* liberal and truthful than their opponents of the Low Church, yet, in another sense, they are *less* liberal. It is of great importance that the principles of the High Church party should be known, and fully understood, and we shall do our best to unravel them.

All primitive Churches, such as the Jewish and Catholic Churches, make religion consist of Sacraments and Priestly authority, and not of theology. The latter religion belongs exclusively to churches which a superior stage of civilization can alone render practicable. Now, as the High Church seeks her religion from outward things more than from the spirit of truth, she goes back in the scale of civilization. We freely grant that the High Church is an example of a good doctrine in theology; but we say at the same time, that her heart is not in her theology, but in her priestly doctrines and observances. Now, as the High Church cannot serve two masters, we must judge her mainly by her outward observances, for there her heart is.

Now, what are these priestly doctrines and outward observances which we so much condemn? First. The Priestly Office. Second. Baptismal Regeneration. Third. Transubstantiation. The whole of the offending doctrines of High Churchism may be comprehended under these heads, and we shall proceed to treat each separately.

The Priestly Office.—The High Church holds that a priest is specially set aside by the Holy Ghost for his office, and consequently that he exercises an authority from God to perform acts which involve miracles. The act of the bishop in ordaining a priest acts miraculously

on the priest so ordained; and the ordained priest in his turn acts miraculously on the laity, for whom he ministers. In this way the bishops and priests become mediators between God and man. They are a race distinct from the laity—called and chosen specially for the priest's office. It will be perceived that this is nothing less than a restoration of the Mosaic religion, and of the priestly office after the order of Aaron. It is a restoration of the Catholic Church, which may be said to be almost a fac-simile of the Jewish Church.

The High Church Clergy may be considered "High" because they arrogate to themselves a high office; but as that claim necessarily depresses the laity in the same ratio as it exalts the priesthood, they cannot justly be called "High,"—for their doctrines involve a low opinion of the capacity and position of man. On a careful examination of the Articles of the Church, we find no authority for any such pretensions; and so far as the High Church is concerned, no alteration of the Thirty-nine Articles is called for.

Clergymen are called "Priests" in the Prayer Book, but never in discourse, either from the pulpit or in conversation—showing that the idea of a Priesthood existing in our Church is purely visionary. Clergymen of the Church of England are not specially called and anointed for the holy office by divine authority, as they were in the Jewish Churches,—for now that the reign of a Theocracy has ceased, all the machinery for a primitive Church has likewise passed away. A Priest of the Christian Church means a minister or servant of the Gospel. If this is not so, we have yet to pass from the bondage of the law of Moses to the liberty of the law of Christ. But we shall be asked, what becomes of the "*Ordination Service*," if no miraculous virtue is connected with it? We answer, that the Ordination Service is a solemnity to mark the vows which the Clergy take to devote themselves to the office of the ministry, in the same way as the "Confirmation Service" marks the vows undertaken by the Laity.

Baptism.—To imagine that a child is regenerated because a priest sprinkles water on it in the name of Christ, is truly a primitive idea. It is a belief in modern miracles as obvious as the miracles of the Blood of St. Januarius, or of weeping pictures of the Virgin Mary. We know that many sensible men give ear to this theory of Conversion, and for that reason we must speak with discretion, if not with reserve.

If we believe that man is regenerated by water, we cannot consistently believe that he is regenerated by right belief accompanied by right action. It is vain for the High Church to preach "*Work out your own Salvation*," if they at the same time teach that salvation has already been worked out by Baptism. We are surprised that those Clergymen who make so much of the text just quoted do not see this. We cannot have two religions, or serve two masters. Either Baptismal Regeneration or Actual Regeneration by Works is true,—and as it is certain that both cannot be true, we must reject the one or the other. The High Church may justly charge their oponents of the Low Church with inconsistency in holding both *Free Will* and *Predestination*; but they themselves are no less inconsistent in holding "Baptismal Rege-

neration" and "Actual Regeneration,"—for these two are as opposite to each other as the doctrines of the Calvinists are.

Transubstantiation.—We have charged the Low Church with error in their belief in blood as an atonement for actual sin; and that error must likewise be charged to the High Church. In believing in the "*Real Presence*" of Christ in the Sacrament, they actually, as well as theoretically, crucify the Lord afresh in their daily and periodical atonements of the Sacrament.

The act of offering Sacrifices consists in slaying an ox, sheep, or goat, and burning it upon an altar. The ideal part of sacrifices, in which all their significance consists, is that the sacrifice so made takes away the sin for which it is offered. Take away the idea from the act, and there is no sacrifice at all; proving that the idea is the reality, and the burning of the victim only the shadow or sign of the thing signified. The act without the idea is nothing, but the idea without the act is everything. It is the same with Idolatry. The idols are nothing apart from the idea with which they involve; take away the idolatrous idea from an image, and the image is nothing. These considerations prove that there may be both sacrifices and idolatry, without either actual burnt-offerings or actual images. In other words, it does not follow that a nation or Church gives up Idolatry and Sacrifice when it demolishes its images and altars. We offer the following propositions, to prove that a Propitiatory Sacrifice cannot be the Religion of the New Testament, as it was of the Old Testament.

1st.—By obeying the precepts of the Gospel, we atone for our sins; and there is no other atonement spoken of by our Lord.

2nd.—If the blood of bulls and goats cannot atone for sin, neither can the blood of a Man—the Man Christ Jesus—atone for sin. Now, as Christ's Divine Nature did not, and could not die, it was only the blood of a man which was shed on the cross.

3rd.—Christ is the author of the New Testament atonement, for He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

The Jewish Church had—1st. an Altar; 2nd. a Victim; and 3rd. a Priesthood, to minister at the altar, and the Catholic has the same; and it is now proposed to introduce the same Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation into the Church of England! Will there not be an end of the Gospel when such a gross belief obtains entrance into the Church? The faith of the Calvinists, who make so much of a blood-bought atonement, is bad enough, but an actual atonement, must be much worse. We might enter more fully into this matter, but we trust enough has been said to show how false and dangerous all such Romish Doctrines are.

We observe from an article in the Christian Remembrancer, the recognised organ of the High Church, that Oxford, which gave birth to that party, now knows it no more; and now that the fountain is fairly dried up, we may reasonably hope that the branches will wither and die away. If Dr. Pusey, instead of introducing one fallacy to cast out another, which appears to have been his object, had taken TRUTH, and that alone for his weapon, Calvinism would long ago have been dead. But that he did not do, and instead of seeing his opponents cast out,

he himself is the first to fall. We trust this lesson will not be lost on the present generation, and that in all future movements of the Church Truth will be the ruling passion.

Having treated of the High and Low Church, it will now be expected that we should speak of the "Essays and Reviews," which may be considered an attempt to introduce a third party into the Church; but on this subject we must be very brief, for our space is limited. In our first Essay, we explained that the "Essays and Reviews" enter on a region of debate which is eminently calculated to produce discord and not peace, of which the flood of answers they have already produced is the evidence. So ill-judged a movement we could not have expected from authors who stand so high in the world of letters. The Essays and Reviews are founded on the works of Baron Bunsen, a writer whom we never could understand, for he does not appear to have any practical object in view beyond mere scholarship. The Essays and Reviews leave off where we begin. They treat of History while we treat of Principles, and as it is the latter and not the former which belong to Religion, the Essayists have mistaken their province, if they have any ambition to become reformers.

The Soul, like the dove let loose from the ark, first tries the Low Church, but finds no place on which to rest the sole of its foot. It then tries the High Church, but here too it is disappointed. As a last resource, it either sits down in despair, or tries the Church of Rome, which may be called the slough of despond.

We may well be asked how it happens that all parties should have combined to keep up a system so replete with faults, and we shall endeavour to explain the mystery. Error within the Church excites opposition from without, but as that has unfortunately always been of a negative kind, the only resource the Clergy had was to resist all proposals of amendment, as a Church cannot proceed to reform itself until a definite and complete scheme of reform has first been placed before it. There has been a grave fault on the part of the Laity, and it goes far to absolve the Clergy from blame in the matter. Now, however, that a complete system of reform is before the world, the position of the Clergy is entirely changed, and if they refuse the proposal of the New Reformation Society without giving a sufficient reason for so doing, they will take a course of which no conscientious man could approve. Delusion has had its day, let reality now take its place, and all will be well.

CHAPTER III.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

The recent massacres in Syria and Damascus, the ancient capital of the Saracens, have appalled all Europe, and call for interference. Since the Massacre of St. Bartholomew by the Catholics, nothing half so revolting as these massacres by the Mahometans has befallen the world. The time is approaching when the eastern empire will return to the

cross, after having been under the dominion of the crescent for upwards of twelve centuries. In the eleventh century, the empire of the Turks was saved from annihilation by the help of some of the Christian powers; and in the nineteenth century the same unseemly alliance saved the Ottoman power; but it is now to be hoped that all Europe will unite to regenerate the Turkish empire. All are now convinced that the sick man is utterly beyond recovery; and looking to the safety and welfare of the population, the sooner the Turkish empire can be restored to the dominion of the cross the better.

In the middle ages, Europe was divided into petty states; and in putting an end to that unsatisfactory state of things, modern civilization has run into the opposite extreme of making the empires of the world too large. We have often had occasion to shew that truth and right lie between extremes; and if we could manage to increase the number of independent States, it would certainly be an improvement on the present system. Why should we have only six great powers? would it not be better if we had twenty moderate powers? The interests of peace and liberty would, we think, be consulted if several new kingdoms of sufficient extent were established in the east; and if the Turkish empire were divided into at least three new kingdoms, that would probably meet the interests and wishes of all parties.

The permanent peace of Europe cannot be achieved until something be done to give a better Government to Turkey than it now possesses. It will, therefore, excite no surprise that we should have turned our attention to the subject. We are glad to say that at last the Wallachians and Bulgarians are beginning to move in the matter. They have heard of the regeneration of Italy, and they naturally wish to imitate so noble an example.

If the people will take the matter into their own hands, it will be much better for diplomacy to retire from the field for the present, and allow the people to work out their own regeneration. The moment the great powers attempt any new schemes for Turkey, each power in its turn lays claim to some special privilege for itself, and thus all hope of producing any practicable result for the benefit of Turkey is taken away; and this is our reason for deprecating any new attempt on the part of the great powers—at least until after the wishes of the people have been definitely ascertained.

It is only throwing our capital into the sea to attempt to prop up so rotten a system as that of the Sultan's Government by new loans and so forth. The sooner the inevitable issue is allowed to come the better it will be for Europe, and the people themselves, for no power exists that is capable of stopping the natural end of the Turkish Government; and it will be our wisdom not any longer to fight against it.

The proposal is to erect European Turkey into a separate kingdom, distinct from the Asiatic portion of the Ottoman Empire, under the sovereignty of the Sultan, the Hospodar of the Danubian Provinces, or whoever the people may elect. When this noble scheme is carried out, it will be a regeneration equal to that which has been effected in Italy with such signal success. Let another Cavour and Garibaldi arise on the banks of the Danube, and the thing will be done.

The proposed new state extends from the Danube to Greece Proper, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. It will have Constantinople for its capital, and become a country quite equal in importance to Italy, both as regards extent, population, and national resources. The population exceeds eighteen millions—of which fourteen millions are said to be Christians, about two millions Mahometans, and the rest Jews.

It is manifest that so long as this country is connected with Asia, where Mahometanism is the ruling Religion, it will be impossible for it to have a National Christian Church. Without a National Church to allay religious animosities, and give coherence to its numerous races, it would be impossible to introduce a representative Government with any reasonable prospect of success; and it is for that reason, as well as for many others that might be named, that a complete separation must take place between the European and Asiatic Provinces of Turkey.

Asiatic Turkey consists of Asia Minor and Syria, as far east as Persia. This vast range of country is composed of a great variety of races and religions, some civilized and others uncivilized, and living independent of all government. This country must of course be dealt with in an entirely different way from that of European Turkey. An absolute government is indispensable, and as regards a National Church that is quite out of the question. The population is nearly equally divided between Christians, Mahomedans, and Jews, and in these circumstances the only way will be to have no National Church, but to tolerate all religions alike.

The recent disturbances in Syria and Damascus have shown that the Turkish Government is incapable of governing the country, and we think France and England are bound to give the country a King and a settled Government, as they did with Belgium and Greece.

It is proposed to withdraw the French troops from Syria, but to do that would undo all the good that has been done by that intervention; and instead of withdrawing troops, a similar number of English troops should be sent out to assist the French troops. A garrison must be maintained in all the large towns, such as Smyrna, Beyrout, Jerusalem, and Damascus, if we expect order and progress to flourish, for it is well known that nothing but the show of a military force in the chief towns has any effect with the Orientals in commanding that respect for the laws which is essential to prosperity.

Too long has Europe suffered this important country to die as it were of old age; but now that Europe in the West, and India and China in the East, are regenerating, the present disgraceful state of things cannot be allowed to remain. To Syria we owe our Religion; and if we are bound in gratitude to assist any country to regenerate itself, surely Syria is that country; and in making this appeal in behalf of the Armenians and Jews, we trust we shall not plead in vain. Let us shew the Jews that we are Christians in deed as well as in word, and that will be the best argument we can offer to induce them to embrace our religion.

The first thing to be done, is to send out troops to act along with the French, and when security of life and property is guaranteed, we may

expect that the people will be as anxious that the French and English Governments should take steps to give them a King and a settled Government as we can be, when the troops may be withdrawn. Should the Cabinets of London and Paris be so heartless as to denude Syria of their troops, and thus leave her to shift for herself as she best can, on them will rest the responsibility of the outbreaks which may be expected to follow. We entreat our rulers to pause before they take such a step, for if they do, the latter end of the Syrian affair will be worse than the beginning.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION.

Christianity was originally propagated from the City of Rome, and consequently the Bishops of Rome claimed authority over the Provincial Churches in all the nations of Europe. This claim of one Bishop and one Church to rule over all other Bishops and Churches has been objected to in all ages, of which St. Gregory's testimony, quoted in a former Essay, is sufficient evidence; but unfortunately, Rome, about the year 1200, succeeded in fairly establishing all its usurpations. What would we think of the Church of England if its Archbishop was to claim the right to govern all the Bishops of the numerous Churches planted by England in her colonies? This is precisely similar to the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, and until the Catholic Laity assert their rights, and demand of their Clergy the abandonment of all such pretensions, they cannot enjoy religious liberty either in Italy or in any other country.

Like the slaveholders of America, who quote scripture in favor of their traffic in human flesh, the Catholics can do the same in support of a claim which rests on no evidence whatever. What this usurpation has cost the nations of Europe for the last six centuries we shall not stop to enquire, for it is well known that the major part of all the wars and persecutions of Europe have arisen from this cause. It is high time that the papal dominion over Europe should cease, that the nations may enjoy Religious liberty as well as Civil Liberty, and that time has now come.

It was in the revolutionary year of 1848 that signs of reformation first made their appearance. The Churches of Rome were deserted, and when we remember how they used to be thronged with devotees, it was not difficult to see that the days of the Papacy were numbered. In France the movement did not take a tangible shape until last year, when the celebrated pamphlets of M. About and M. Cayla, made their appearance. The one writer attacked the Temporal power of the Pope, and the other the Spiritual power, and we may imagine the sensation produced by these publications.

The Catholics received the proposal for a *National Church* in France

with the mingled feelings of regret and satisfaction. They naturally deplored the sacrifices which they were called on to make, but they saw at the same time that Civilization had outgrown the religion of the middle ages, and that sooner or later, the Church must be reformed. It was therefore a relief to the mind to know what was coming. The Protestants evidently did not quite relish the idea of the Catholic Church being reformed. They exclaimed—can dry bones live? One would naturally have expected that the news that the Papacy was about to fall would have overpowered the Protestants with joy, but that has not been so. We regret to say that the Pope and Cardinals received this proposal in a very unchristian spirit, of which the following Bull, issued on the occasion, shows:—

“A lively grief had seized us on account of a most infamous Pamphlet lately published in Paris. What is intolerable is the audacity and impiety of this writer, who, not having feared to attack the Civil and Ecclesiastical principality of the Roman Church, has endeavoured to contrive a particular species of Church, to be founded in the French Empire, and organized so that it should be removed from the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff and completely separated from it. What injustice does the author of the afore-mentioned pamphlet not do to the most illustrious French nation, in believing that that nation, the most attached to Catholic unity, could allow itself to be drawn into schismatical error.”—*Rome, December, 1860.*

Instead of language so unworthy of ministers of the gospel of Love and Self-denial, the papal manifesto ought to have run in terms like these. “We grant that there is an urgent call for a reformation of the Church, and if it is the will of Europe that a General Council of the Church should be called, with a view to its reconstruction, I shall give the movement every encouragement.” If the Pope had taken that course he would have followed up in acts, what he professed in 1848 in words, but now his house is left to him desolate, for he was offered a way of escape and he has refused it.

Napoleon has made concessions to the spirit of the age in granting the liberty of the Press. The Emperor of Russia has done the same in granting liberty to the Serfs. The Emperor of Austria has made concessions in calling a Parliament; but the Pope, by refusing all concessions, has only himself to blame for his fall.

The Catholic Church has not been reformed for three centuries, for since the Council of Trent, she has undergone no legislative change. It is therefore necessary that the Church should now be completely reformed, in order to meet the vast strides made in Civilization and Religion since the sixteenth century. But how is the Catholic Church to reform herself? We say, let Italy take the initiative in the great work of reformation. Let the new King of Italy call the Clergy and Laity to a great Council, that a new Church may be formed. This important matter settled, the other nations of Europe will follow the example, when the entire Church will be reformed, and placed upon a satisfactory basis all over the world. We shall now proceed to give the outline of a Church Constitution suitable for Italy, that our readers may understand the nature of the reforms proposed.

1. The King, as head of the State and representative of the Nation, to be recognized as the head of the Church.

2. The Temporalities of the Church to be vested in the Houses of Parliament; and the Spiritualities, in a General Council, to be constituted on a representative basis.

3. The Bishops and other Dignitaries of the Church to be elected by the Crown. The Parochial Clergy and Lay Deacons to be elected by the People.

4. Two Clergymen and twelve Lay Deacons to be appointed to each parish. The Clergy to attend to the spiritual interests of the parish, and the Deacons to the temporal interests, including Education and the care of the sick and the poor. Presuming the nation to be unanimous in accepting these propositions, as the basis of the NEW CHURCH, let us see how the proposal may be carried out.

The King, as head of the Church, will convoke a General Council of the Bishops, Clergy, and leading Statesmen, that he may consult with them as to the proposed Reformation, and to lay before them the draft of the New Constitution for their consideration and approval. So soon as the matter has been fully discussed, the Assembly may be dissolved, when the King would publish the Constitution, subject only to the ratification of Parliament.

The following are the heads of the proposed Constitution :—

1. The General Council of the Church, which will meet at Rome, and be presided over by the Bishop of Rome, to consist of about two hundred members, to be composed of Clergy and Laity in equal proportions.

2. The Council to be called by Royal writ at least once every three years, and may be dissolved at any time by the Crown.

3. The duties of this body will be, to settle any disputes that may arise between the Bishops, Clergy, and Deacons, and generally to manage the affairs of the Church.

4. A Book of Articles, based on Scripture, defining the Creed of the Church, to be prepared and duly ratified by this Act.

5. A Book of Common Prayer, in the spirit of the Articles, to be prepared for the use of Churches, and duly ratified.

6. A Book of Canons to be prepared, as to the ordination of Bishops and Clergy, and defining the power of appeal to the General Council.

The Italian Parliament will soon meet in the city of Rome, where the General Council of the Church will assemble, and will probably be presided over by Pius IX, as Bishop of Rome, and metropolitan of all Italy. This act would, of course, limit the power of the Pope to Italy, and deprive that potentate of his double crown, as King of Italy, and Sovereign Pontiff of half of Europe; but in exchange for these obsolete crowns, he will receive the reward of a good conscience, in resigning pretensions which are incompatible with liberty and progress.

In the event of the Pope refusing to accept the Chair of the New Church, as he did when Napoleon too generously offered him the Presidency of a Confederated Italy, by the treaty of Villafranca, there will be no alternative but to appoint an ARCHBISHOP OF ROME, who will take his place as Metropolitan Archbishop of Italy. Such is the

only solution of the Papal question; and when we remember the difficulties which have always surrounded the question, we ought to be thankful that at last we begin to see our way to a final settlement.

The Italian people will only deceive themselves if they imagine that they will be free until they have Religious Liberty as well as Civil Liberty, and as the Reformation movement has supplied the materials for the compilation of the Books of Articles, Services, and Canons, there is no reason why the "*National Church of Italy*" should not be at once constituted.

Count Cavour and the Italian Parliament must not imagine that their mission is accomplished when the Civil Institutions of the country are completed, for unless they can go forward to a Religious Reformation they will not have conferred the boon of personal liberty on their people. Liberty does not consist solely in protection from civil abuses, but in protection from social intolerance and religious disability as well, and until the Church is reformed, the latter, which constitutes the major part of the liberty of a nation will not be achieved. Presuming that this is granted, the question arises—is the present time, when United Italy is only in its infancy, the best for introducing the necessary Church Reforms?

To this we reply, that unless Church Reform can be carried now, it will be impossible to carry it at any future time without a new Revolution. Macaulay, in his History of England, points out this very clearly, when he says that the reign of Elizabeth was the time for a Religious Reformation in England; but, having allowed that opportunity to pass, it was impossible in the reigns which followed to apply any remedy to the woes which ensued from the want of Church Reform. Let Italy take a lesson from the disastrous history of England in the time of the Stuarts, and she will not hesitate in at once proceeding with the necessary Church Reforms.

It requires no gift of prophecy to foresee that the wars and anarchy in store for Italy will equal, if not surpass, the wars of the Stuarts, which desolated England for one hundred and fifty years, if the Parliament of Italy, after the example of the Parliament of England, contents itself with Civil Reforms.

The only opposition which a reforming Parliament will have to meet is from a few of the noble families who are personally connected with the hierarchy, and with the ignorance of the peasant class, over whom those families may have influence; but a good cause will easily overcome all such opposition. It is not difficult to show that there can be no peace while liberty reigns in the state, and despotism in the Church; and that it is necessary to make the Church harmonize with the state before Italy can be a free and a united Kingdom.

The new Articles proposed for the Protestant Reformation will be equally suitable for the Catholic Reformation, for as there is only one Truth and one Gospel, so there ought to be only one Creed. We specially refer our Catholic friends to these Articles, which they will find to be such as they can accept with a good conscience.

Our desire is to see Catholics and Protestants united in one faith and one doctrine, although they may not be united as one Church; and who

is able to conceive the benefits which such a union will confer on the human race. The two Churches have hitherto been always at variance, but they will now go hand in hand, for their interests will henceforth be one. No longer will host encounter host on the battle field of a religious war, as in the days of Walestein and Gustavus, for the great causes of war will have ceased.

If the Catholics complain of the sacrifices they have to make, we answer that the sacrifice of Luther's doctrine of Justification without Works is equal to all the sacrifices of the Catholics. The Christian religion is love to others and the denial of self-love, and both Churches will act on that principle by submitting to the call now made for a general reformation. Let both Catholics and Protestants take a dispassionate view of the matter, not under the influence of prejudice, habit, and education, but with reference to the interests of the whole human race, and the world shall rejoice in that LIBERTY which is the birth-right of all.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW REFORMATION.

"Old things are passing away; behold, all things are becoming new."

It surprises many that along with Political Revolutions there should exist a tendency to reformation in things moral and religious. The Political Revolutions and the New Reformation are opposite currents, the one indicating the rule of the Feelings, and the other the rule of the Intellect, and it is not difficult to account for these events coming together, for necessity is ever the mother of invention.

The Emperor Nicholas was the first to make a move in the interests of despotism when he occupied the Danubian Provinces in 1854. This aggression called forth the armies of France and England, and at Sebastopol the first blow was given to that interest. The Emperor of Austria took the next step when he occupied Italy, contrary to the understanding with France, that the Austrian troops, instead of being increased, were gradually to be withdrawn. This second aggression provoked the hostility of France and Piedmont, and on the plains of Villa Franca, the second blow to despotism was given. The third act in the drama originated with the liberals, who now feel themselves strong enough to adopt the offensive.

Garibaldi can no longer be restrained. He sets sail from Genoa with a handful of followers, and succeeds in uniting all Italy under one Government. There is nothing in history to compare with this heroic act, both as regards its origin and its consequences, for it is destined to regenerate not Italy only, but the whole world. Napoleon has done much, and Cavour has done much, but it may be that history will award the palm to the noble Garibaldi.

We read that he who conquers himself is greater than he who takes a city; and after witnessing the recent reconciliation of the conqueror of Palermo and Naples, with Cavour, the great statesman who directs

the whole Italian movement, we may well accord to Garibaldi the honour of having conquered himself as well as great cities. Henceforth let no man be called great who is unable to conquer himself; and the careers of Napoleon, Cavour, and Garibaldi are conspicuous for this noblest of qualities,—a virtue sufficient for the conquest of the world.

We have now shown that the present excited state of Europe has not originated with the liberals, but with their opponents of Russia and Austria; and if these powers complain of the reforming spirit which their ambition has everywhere evoked, they must know that they have themselves to blame for it,—for it was they who took the initiative as we have explained.

Such was the state of parties when a new element began to show itself. Hitherto the combatants had been so busy with their military affairs, that they had no time to think of anything else. Now, however, they begin to ask what causes the evils they have been contending with at the risk of their lives,—and these are found to be Religious as well as Political. The Reformation movement breaks out in England with great force; and the note is no sooner struck than it vibrates in every capital of Europe.

No one interested in peace can fail to see the extreme importance of the new movement. While parties were equally balanced, it was to be feared that the disastrous times of Walestein and Gustavus were to be renewed. Now, however, that is impossible,—for, as the forces on the side of liberty are now so preponderating, we may safely predict that there will either be no war, or at least only a very short one. It is the balance of power that produces protracted wars; for when the preponderance is overwhelming, there can be no warfare of any continuance.

Union is power, and as the Reformation movement will unite all nations in one grand fraternity, devoted to the Reformation of Civilization, the sure and certain foundation of a better world is laid. The Reformation Societies will help those nations who have drifted into a Revolution to convert such into a Reformation, and those nations which are only threatened with a Revolution we shall help to avoid such, by inducing them to carry out a Reformation for themselves. Such is the great mission of the REFORMATION SOCIETY, and as we take the world for our province, so we ask the co-operation of all nations in carrying forward our work to its completion.

The great and ultimate object of the New Reformation is to make men good. We do not of course say that man is bad, but only that the Reformation is intended to make him better. The object is to produce soul and character; and here again we must explain that we do not say that men are without soul, but merely that our object is to improve, or add, to the soul. For one man who can discourse on principles, ninety-nine are only able to discuss personalities,—showing that a great want of soul and character exists; and it is to supply this want, and so improve man, that the Reformation movement has been inaugurated. Peace, Happiness, and Contentment are the great objects in view; and to make the soul equal to the production of these enjoyments is the object of reformation.

Mr. Emerson, in his "Conduct of Life," says:—"When souls reach a certain clearness of perception, they accept a Knowledge and Motive above Selfishness." Yes, we are to strive to make man less selfish; and in thus depressing SELF, we shall be able to feel for our fellow-men, when "Respect for Others" will take the place of pride and haughtiness.

The Soul once enlightened must be sustained. Nay more, it must increase in strength day by day, or it will go backwards—for unless the soul advances it will decline, for in nature there is no standing still. The constitution of Human Nature is this. Enlightenment will certainly destroy Selfishness, but it must never be forgotten that we must trim our lights daily, or they will grow dim or go out, when selfishness will resume its sway.

We wish to place the whole case plainly before our readers, that they may not be over sanguine that when they begin to see the light they have once for all overcome their evil passions, for they will find that it takes a lifetime to vanquish self. No—we must go on slowly, and step by step; we must moreover walk humbly, for *over-confidence* usually precedes a fall. Reformation is a work of degrees, to be spread over a whole lifetime. What is the use of this world, but the faithful discharge of this duty of life?

It is to help man to perform this work of reformation that Christ founded His Church, and without the Lord's Day on which the gospel is to be preached, or without the Gospel itself, man could not have reached his present state of civilization, or be able to go on from thence to perfection.

Men do not like Truth and Principle until they understand them, but when they are explained and fully comprehended, men are willing to submit as a duty, and afterwards, when they become a little accustomed to them, they rejoice in them. Every man thinks he knows truth, and it is not until we are persuaded to read and think that we begin to give way; and we may add that we do not know a case where the whole truth has been told, where the reformation has not taken effect.

We have been told we have the four gospels, and with these, what more do we want? To this we reply the gospels only give the basis on which to build a Church; they are the raw material but the Church is the edifice. Without the Church to interpret the Bible, the gospels produce a different religion in the minds of all, according to the state of intelligence in which each mind is; and in order to meet this unavoidable difficulty, a Church has been happily instituted, and it follows that instead of wishing to destroy the Church by depriving her of her Articles, we must build her up by giving her a new and better Code of Articles. A Religion or Church without Articles may be compared to a quantity of beads unstrung, and a religion with Articles to the same beads when strung. The beads being the raw material, and the string which unites them and makes them useful, the articles.

The moment that men lose their love of the Christian Religion, which they are so apt to do with our present defective Articles to repel them, they fly to Nature. They wish to be free from all restraint, like the nomades of primitive times. Men have not yet learned to distinguish between Nature and Civilization, or between the religion of Nature

and the religion of Christ. They do not perceive that in rejecting Christianity they necessarily go back to Nature, for if Christianity is Truth, and we reject it, of course nothing but Nature is left. If our readers will only take the trouble to consult the "Philosophy of Civilization," to which we have so often had occasion to refer, they will find this most important distinction clearly stated.

Let us repeat, the liberty of Nature is not liberty, but bondage, for where there is no rule of conduct there can be no protection to liberty. The more ignorant people are, the more necessary is a Church, and instead of the prevailing ignorance of the world being an argument for doing away with articles, it is the reverse. Were all men cognisant of the truth, we could then do without articles, and without a Church, but that time has not come yet.

Depend upon it, that a Church is the right hand of Civilization and Liberty, and although, owing to its imperfections, it has been the source of evil as well as good, yet that is no reason why, when the Church is reformed, it will not become an unmixed good. If the world would suffer loss to be deprived of the Bible, it would suffer still greater loss to be deprived of the Church, for then the people would be left without teachers, and practically without a Bible.

There are only two ways in which a Reformation can come—the one in a Miraculous manner, like the reformation of Christ; and the other in the Natural way, like the reformation of Luther. That we are not to expect the repetition of a miraculous reformation is the uniform testimony of eighteen centuries, in which no miraculous interferences have taken place; and on reading the Scriptures, we find nothing to indicate that any second Revelation is to be made. The following is the opinion of Bishop Butler:—

"And as it is owned the the whole scheme of Scripture is not yet understood, so, if it ever comes to be understood without Miraculous interpositions, it must be by the continuance and progress of learning and of liberty, and by *particular persons* attending to, comparing, and pursuing intimations scattered up and down, which are overlooked and disregarded by the world. This is the way in which all improvements are made; by thoughtful men tracing on obscure hints, as it were, dropped us by Nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance. And possibly it might be intended that Events, as they come to pass, should open and ascertain the meaning of Scripture."

Why should we always be so anxious to put good far from us, by saying that a Natural reformation is impossible? Is not that the way to continue the reign of darkness and evil? "It is the duty," says the Times, "of a journal to be hopeful, and even sanguine—to expect prosperity, and to teach progress." We trust this most seasonable advice will be taken, for if we desire to improve the world, we must believe in the possibility of it, and help others to believe the same.

Neither the Clergy nor the people generally, were prepared for anything half so good as a Reformation, when the present movement commenced. They had their fears of coming evil; but not their hopes of coming good. The people have been taught to expect evil, and now when good comes they are put out, and say, surely this is too good to be true. Such is the state of the public mind at this momen-

tous crisis of the world's history ; and we hope the Clergy will follow the advice so opportunely offered, to prepare the minds of their congregations for the coming changes.

The necessary changes of doctrine are great and complex ; and unless the clergy will take the trouble to explain the principles of the reformation to their flocks, the people will be like sheep without a shepherd. We throw out this hint as we happen to know how the matter stands ; but if the clergy will not act upon it, on them must lie the responsibility of withholding information from their people, which they have a right to expect at the hands of their pastors. Let our mourning be turned into joy, and let the pulpits be hung with garlands, for assuredly the time of the Church's reformation and regeneration has come.

We can assure the clergy that we have no wish to trespass on their domain further than is absolutely necessary to carry the Church Reform Bill through Parliament. So soon as that Bill is carried, we shall withdraw from the field, and confine ourselves to the other objects of the Society. We shall rejoice when the Clergy enable us to lay down our mission as Church Reformers, for we shall do so with the satisfaction of those who have planted a goodly vineyard, and have lived to eat the fruits thereof. We shall have a better world in which to live, and that shall be our reward.

The success of our movement depends greatly on the circulation of these Essays,—for which we must look mainly to the exertions of our friends. One lady has distributed two hundred copies, and the letters she has received are quite a treat to read, and we hope amply repay the expense and trouble she has taken in the matter. We mention this incident in the hope that so noble an example may be followed by all who can spare the time, and who have a heart for suffering humanity. A cookery book sells 150,000 copies, but as yet the sale of our Essays has been comparatively small. The people as yet care more for directions as to how to please their palates, than for directions how to think and act. Now all this indifference as to good reading will soon pass away if our friends will help us to circulate these tracts. One hundred may be got for thirty shillings, and as the book postage is only one penny, what we now ask ought not to be considered a heavy demand in so good a cause.

We could say many things for the women that we cannot say for the men, but in one thing the former fail, and that is in *liberality*. If the women would enquire and think before they decide, they would be less intolerant and more liberal ; and that lesson we must all learn if the world is to be improved, for there is no greater barrier to the advancement of morality and religion than intolerance. One lady is said to have burned our Essay No. 2, as soon as she had read it ; and it is in order to put a stop to such intolerance that we have found ourselves called on to make these remarks. The following extract from Mr. Mill's celebrated Essay on "Liberty," ought to protect us from intolerance in future, and we recommend the lady who burned our Essay to learn it by heart.

"So natural to mankind is intolerance in whatever they really care about, that religious freedom has hardly anywhere been practically realised. Though the yoke of Opinion in this country is perhaps heavier,

that of Law is lighter than in most other countries. It is often argued, and still oftener thought, that none but bad men would desire to weaken popular beliefs. The Truth of an opinion is part of its utility. If we would know whether or not it is desirable that a proposition should be believed, is it possible to except the consideration of whether it be true or not. Social Intolerance roots out no opinion, but only induces men to conceal them. In our times, from the highest class of society down to the lowest, every one lives under the eye of a hostile and dreaded censorship."—*Mill on Liberty*.

But we must conclude. Mr. Mill says in his new work on Constitutional Government, that "*When things are left to themselves they usually go to decay*," or as the Rev. Mr. Pycroft expresses it, when things are left to take their course they take a bad course. The truth of these statements being admitted, it follows that if we desire the good of religion—the progress of civilization—and the good of the Church, we must not allow the Church to take its course. No, we must step in and apply the remedy. Let every congregation send up its petition to Parliament for the passing of the CHURCH REFORM BILL, and the Church will be saved. Until that is done there will be no Peace and no Religious Liberty.

These are no ordinary times in which we live. Every post brings us news of wars and rumours of wars and revolutions, and when we again address the public it is hard to say what we shall not have to communicate. The present is a time of dread reality, as well as of hope, let us therefore meet it like men, and not allow ourselves to be overcome by evil.

The Revolution and anarchy which have visited our relations in America may well fill us with amazement, and at the same time teach us a solemn lesson. What is going on in America, is only what took place in France some eighty years ago, and what may visit ourselves if we do not do something to forestal the coming evil. The absence of Reform caused the French Revolution. The same cause has produced the American Revolution, and it will be the same should England fall under the like calamity. What saved the Constitution in 1848, when it was to be overthrown by Chartists, but the Reform Bill previously passed by Lord John Russell, and if the Church Reform Bill is now passed, we shall be able to point to it as the salvation of England in years to come.

To remain passive and do nothing to enable us to meet the coming storm, will be suicidal, and that course must not be tolerated for a moment; for, as already said, to leave things to take their course is to court destruction. Let us take warning, for these are not times to be trifled with, and although it pains us to write in words like these, yet we feel we should ill discharge our duty as reformers if we were to preach peace when there is no peace, for that would only purchase present indulgence at the cost of future suffering.

The error which Wilberforce and Chalmers committed was in not going to the root of evil, by reforming the Church, for they contented themselves in attacking evil at the outside. When will men be wise, and deal with evil as a whole, and not in detail?—the one method being the remedy of "cure," and the other "prevention." As well try to

stop a river at its many exits, instead of going to the fountain head, where the remedy is comparatively easy.

We complain of the hardness of the times and of every thing going wrong, but it never occurs to us to ask why things do not go more smoothly. Now all this jarring might be corrected if we would only address ourselves to its cause. What causes differences of opinion but the prevalence of error? and we have shown how error may be expelled, and how those differences may be brought to an end.

The present is a time for action and noble deeds, in which timidity and compromise shall not be allowed to enter. Let it not be said that our rulers are afraid that when the people are enlightened they will be more difficult to govern, for that is opposed to reason and common sense, for it is darkness and delusion which are the adversaries of any government. It appears to us that we must make up our minds either for a reformation or a revolution, and in these circumstances we cannot doubt that all parties will prefer the former.

To those who reply that a general reformation is too much for one generation, we answer, the sooner the great and indispensable work is begun, the sooner will it be accomplished. If we do not ourselves reap the full reward of our exertions, we shall at least prepare the way for our children. We may rely upon it, if we do not begin a reformation in our time, that the world will be much worse for our children than it has been for us; but if we will begin the work now, the world, instead of being worse to our successors, will be better. It is in the interests of ourselves, and our children, and children's children, that we make this appeal, and in touching the heart we trust we shall have a response which shall transfer itself into the pages of history, for all time coming.

Political reformers have to contend with private interests; but our movement contends only with Satan's Kingdom of ignorance and delusion, for when the reformation is carried, it will be found that not one private interest has been affected by it, except for the better. The Statesman with an improved Public Opinion to deal with, will be able to proceed with legislation in peace and satisfaction to himself and those for whom he labours. Editors of the press will have an intelligent public to deal with, when their shackles will fall off. The Clergy will be free men, making havoc of every stronghold of Satan, and gathering around them a people who will rise up and call them "blessed." The People will throw their differences to the moles and bats, and henceforth live in peace and goodwill with each other, with none to make them afraid. Such are the glories of the New Reformation; and if the work is great, the fruits to be gathered are still greater.

FINIS.

GOVERNMENT REFORM

IN

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

"We enjoy peace, order, wealth, and advancement in all material and social matters. But let us beware. The whole world, old and new, tells us how soon all this may be suddenly checked, thrown into ruin, and laid under clouds and darkness."—*The Times*, August, 1861.

ESSAY No. 4.

L O N D O N :

SOLD BY GEO. H. NICHOLS, EARL'S COURT,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

1861.

P R E F A C E .

It has often been said, that without a Revolution or some external aid, no nation is able to reform itself, and with one or two exceptions in history the statement is universally true. The present being an epoch when Revolution is widely spread, we may expect great changes to result from it, but without external aid, as well as revolution, the process of Reform will be as slow and imperfect as in former times.

It is with the object of supplying external aid, in the shape of counsel and advice, that these Essays of the Reformation Society have been written. Our purpose is to let all nations know that the good of one nation produces the good of every other, and that by one nation reforming itself it assists others to do the same. In this way the present time of revolution and change may be turned into a time of general good—a result which will deliver the world from the mass of evil which holds it in bondage.

The issue of all previous revolutions has been a mixture of good and evil, and for that reason, new revolutions to correct the faults of the former revolutions are called for. With the assistance of a definite system of reform, applicable to all nations, these imperfections will be remedied, and the result will be unmixed good.

In reviewing the present state of the world we shall begin with England and America; and having surveyed the condition of the Anglo-Saxon race on both shores of the Atlantic, we shall cross the Channel and portray the position of the various nations of Continental Europe. The present extraordinary era of history is peculiarly suitable for such a survey, for it presents a struggle between good and evil, which was perhaps never before so general, or so strongly marked.

It is deplorable to witness the excited state of the nations, coupled with the want of definite objects to direct the movements of the contending factions into which every country is divided. The press, instead of aiding us to arrive at the knowledge of what ought to be done, only seems to perplex us. The vast magnitude of the interests at stake is another source of difficulty; for to cope with times like these much study and reflection are wanted; and few men unfortunately have either the time or the inclination to fit themselves for the office of public instructors.

As all parties are alike interested in producing the greatest possible amount of good out of the revolutions now in progress, we trust our motives in urging the necessary Reforms on public attention will be appreciated.

25, CONDUIT STREET, W.

London, 11th August, 1861.

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CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND, AND GOVERNMENT REFORM.

America is like a ship at sea imperfectly equipped, which has been rent in twain. From the first she was badly put together, and although she continued to exist for a time, yet it was always under difficulties, and now the inevitable crash has come. The great fault was the independence of the individual states, and the want of a National Church. By keeping the ship in compartments, opposing interests grew up; and by ignoring the religious wants of the people, conflicting opinions prevailed in all the states to an extent unprecedented in any other country; and out of those two causes has the catastrophe come.

England reels under the shock of the American revolution. Threatened as we are with the loss of a large portion of our trade and manufactures, on which several millions of our population depend, there is no wonder that grave fears for the future peace of the country should be entertained. In these circumstances it becomes us to set our house in order, so that we may meet any possible contingency in the attitude of preparation. With this object in view, we shall state what we think ought to be done to give new life to our government, which has fallen into a semi-dead state.

If we are asked whether the country is prosperous or not, we answer, it is not, for all classes complain more and more of the increasing hardness of the times. But how can this be, in the face of a flourishing exchequer, and increasing imports and exports? Are not these tests of prosperity? Certainly not. The rapid increase of transactions often precedes ruin and insolvency in private affairs, and that which damages the public interests fills the exchequer. The best test of prosperity is the experience of the people themselves, and we ask the reader to go into any town, large or small, or to any class of the people, and tell us where he does not find an increasing amount of privation and suffering. To the slow progress of reform must be attributed the cause of this suffering, and in order to show how that should be, we give the following speech from Mr. Palmer, the new Solicitor-General.

“It is for the advantage of a country that a government should be reasonably strong. There are two kinds of conservatism—the one is destructive, and the other common to all true liberals. The destructive stands still, is selfish, advocates class privileges, thinks everything as good as it should be, and dislikes all change. True conservatism is Progress. That which is stationary goes to decay and dies; that which is progressive lives and grows. The progress of reform should be constant and steady, for on that the prosperity of the nation depends.”
—*July*, 1861.

It is admitted by all parties that our government as it now exists is much too passive to meet the wants of modern civilization. Take the state of the great metropolis as an example of our legislative

capacity. London is provided with fine wide streets where there is little traffic, and nothing better than lanes where the traffic is greatest. Private interests rule everything, and the public interest nowhere; and that is the reason why London is not provided with streets, to the eternal disgrace of our government.

Look at Parliament. There the mass of Bills are private Bills. The public Bills are few, and those few of little or no importance. Everything is left to private interests, and the public interests are entirely sacrificed. In these circumstances there is no wonder that evil and suffering abound more and more. The passive system can be tolerated no longer, for if Parliament will not make the necessary reforms, the nation will. Nature will take its own course in a way which we may live to regret.

The passive system has always been the policy of England, but that is no reason that it is right. The past history of England proves the opposite, for what caused the civil wars and revolutions of England but the want of reform. The want of reform causes disaffection and treason, and that is the reason why all bad Governments are tyrannical—want of reform being the cause, and tyranny the effect. Our statesmen have been accustomed to look for great statistical results more than the good of the people. Large imports and exports fill the exchequer, and to short-sighted statesmen that is sufficient. But to benefit the few and leave the many as ignorant and dependent as ever is not true statesmanship. The following remarks are from the London Correspondent of the "New York Times."

"Parliament sits and talks with all the pertinacity of an American Congress, and with not half its vivacity. Reform moves so slowly in every branch, that it is impossible not to believe that at some not very far distant day, some sudden shock will give a final impulse to popular opinion, strong enough to break down in a moment all those vexatious and unreasonable barriers which now impede free action and circulation of blood in Church and State. This has been predicted so often, that it seems mere folly to repeat it; yet I am inclined to believe, from a pretty long experience of Englishmen, that they regard some such result as a mere question of time, and like Lord Palmerston, content themselves with believing that the present state of things will last their day."

These sentiments are certainly not very flattering to English statesmanship, but when we consult the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we find them fully confirmed. Here are the words of Mr. Gladstone:—

"Mr. Gladstone had no hesitation in saying that this and other circumstances of a like kind were entirely owing to the lamentable and deplorable state of our whole arrangements with regard to the management of public affairs. Vacillation, uncertainty, costliness, extravagance, and all the conflicting vices that could be enumerated, were united in the present system. There was a total want of authority to direct and guide. When there was anything to be done, they had to go from department to department, from the Executive to the House of Commons, from the House of Commons to a Committee, from a Com-

mittee to a Commission, and from a Commission to a Committee,—so years pass away, the public are disappointed, and the money of the country is wasted. He believed that such were the evils of the system, that nothing short of a revolutionary reform would ever be sufficient to rectify them."

After these remarks from the Government itself we trust we shall hear no more boasting of our incomparable Constitution and so forth. The Americans boasted of their Constitution up to the hour of its disruption—let both nations come to reality, and they will have little to boast of. The "London Review," a weekly journal lately established, which, in its advocacy of sound principles, is second to none, has the following remarks on Mr. Gladstone's speech:—

"But what sort of revolutionary reform? for there's the rub. Tell the country what is the remedy, and the country, we are certain, will take it. The people would not stop short of revolution, if only it could be made to see what revolution would do, how it would act as a medicine, what precise effects might be expected from it. England has already tried revolution, and found great good to come of it; but then it saw beforehand that the work which revolution would produce was precisely an efficient cure. Revolution got rid of a tyrannical and incurable dynasty; it put a better one on the throne, and the country obtained a security which it had never before enjoyed.

"The true cause of the absence of responsibility in England is the want of a master to whom the public servants are accountable. Mr. Cobden accurately describes the French process. The Emperor wants an efficient navy; it is his own direct affair; the advantages of a well, and the losses of an ill-managed navy fall on him; and, consequently, he chooses for Minister of Marine a man who is up to the work, and will do it well. He selects him on just the same principle as a gentleman chooses his gardener, or a manufacturer his foreman. In England, it is quite otherwise. A man is placed at the head of the various departments, not because he has the ability and the knowledge to qualify him to discharge the duties of those several departments, but because he is a man of political weight. Hence the members of an English Government never feel themselves really answerable for the goodness or badness of the work done in their several offices."

The late Mr. Joseph Hume thought to remedy the evils of Government by a new Electoral Reform Bill; but, alas, we have no hope that any new Parliament would be better than the one we have got. To offer the people votes instead of good legislation will deceive them no longer. The people have at last discovered that that is offering them a stone when they ask for bread; of which the indifference which the people now display towards reform agitations is the evidence.

The remedy which we propose for our passive Government is the creation of a new office—to supervise and control the whole. Nature is a unity as well as a collection of parts, and if we either allow the parts to be lost in the whole, or the whole to be lost in the parts, we offend the laws of nature and produce evil and distortion. It is the same with a Government. Centralization is as necessary to good

Government as division, and the new office we propose will supply the want of centralization.

The new office may be called the *Board of Public Bills*. It would be presided over by the Premier who would be responsible for its acts. The duties of this Board would comprise the following,—1st, to take the initiative in all reforms, and to prepare the necessary Bills to carry them out. 2nd, to receive reports from the other departments of government; and 3rd, to report its proceedings weekly or monthly as might be necessary; these reports to be published as soon as they are ready. The Board of Customs and Inland Revenue would report on the state of their accounts, and at the same time point out any improvements they might desire. The War Office and the Naval Board would report on the state of their accounts, and what reforms they wish. In this way would the whole public affairs of the nation be brought into one focus, when the wants of the country would be properly attended to.

If we are told that what we ask is already in operation, for the Cabinet Council controls the whole Government, we answer, the Cabinet is practically an irresponsible body. Its transactions are not published, and as it consists of a number of members, it is impossible to say who is responsible for its acts. If it be said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible for the expenditure of the country, we answer, that he exercises no control over the other departments, and is, therefore, not responsible for what they do.

We have an Attorney and a Solicitor-General to attend to the legal and judicial interests of the nation, but no officer to attend to its legislative interests, which are of much greater importance; and it is to supply that want, that we have proposed a Public Bill Office. This is not a revolutionary measure, and if it is adopted, there will be no occasion for the organic changes which Mr. Gladstone thinks necessary. What makes the French Government superior to ours? but that it has the Emperor to control the whole, and propose the necessary reforms; and with the new office, our system will be as perfect and complete as the French system.

With the Public Bill Office in operation, everybody will know what is doing, and if acknowledged abuses are not met by the introduction of the necessary Bills, we shall know who is to blame. The resources of England and the Colonies will be vastly increased, and the expenses of the nation reduced, which will enable us to get rid of burdensome taxation. In this way will the government fulfil its great mission of producing good and reducing evil.

The cost of the army and navy is about thirty millions sterling per annum. We are satisfied that when responsibility has been introduced into the system in the manner we propose, that this vast expenditure may be reduced at the very least one third. This great saving will be effected without reducing the pay of the men or the officers,—nor will the strength of either service be reduced by one man. The saving will arise solely from better management; and even after the expenditure on the army and navy is reduced to twenty millions, that sum will still exceed what the French spend on their army and navy.

With the ten millions of saving, and other savings which we could name, we propose entirely to abolish the tax on tea, and the tax on income. These are the taxes which press severely on the people; and large as the revenue derived from these sources is, yet the proposed Government Reform will enable us to abolish them root and branch. The relief from the pressure of these burdensome taxes will be great beyond conception—and we call on the people of England to send up their Petitions to Parliament, so that our proposal may be carried without delay.

If the night work of the Houses of Parliament could be got rid of, it would be a great improvement. With day work instead of night work, which is quite unworthy of an enlightened age, we shall have more business and less speaking. Another discouragement to talking would be given if Editors would abridge the speeches in their journals. Why fill up the papers with long speeches, which not one in a hundred ever look at?

Presuming that the Government and Parliament will be reformed in the manner we have pointed out, the question arises, how are such sweeping reforms to be put into operation, for we might easily waste several ordinary sessions on the discussion of such questions. To this we answer, let a short session be called this winter for the special purpose of carrying out the proposed reforms, and for laying down a new set of "Standing Orders" for the Houses of Parliament. When that is done, Parliament will enter on its new duties without loss of time.

An important debate in the House of Lords, on Lord Ebury's proposal to reform the Liturgy of the Church, has just taken place, and as it shows that the Lords are disposed to entertain the question, we give the following extracts.

"The fatal and revengeful Act of Charles II. was passed in the year 1662; next year will be the 200th anniversary, and he (Lord Ebury) trusted their lordships would feel sincere pleasure in substituting for it something more in harmony with the Christianity of our age. (Hear, hear.)"

The Bishop of London said :—

"The noble lord (Lord Ebury) presses the necessity of a General Revision of the Liturgy. Now, that course has only been taken at a period of Revolution. When the Church recovered from the convulsion into which it was thrown at the time of the Reformation, there was, of course, a General Revision. When Charles II. was restored after the Commonwealth, and again when James II. was compelled to leave the throne, there was a General Revision of the Liturgy. It seemed out of the question to propose a General Revision of the whole Liturgy of the Church of England at a time like the present. As to the terms of subscription, it was of great importance that the public should not suppose them to be more rigid than they really were. His impression was, that a man who conscientiously believed the Church of England to be the Church in which he wished to live and die, and who was not more attached to any other form of Christianity than to the

Church of England, might fairly and safely make the subscriptions." —*July 22nd*, 1861.

The present times present a striking resemblance to the times to which Lord Ebury has referred, just two hundred years ago. The year 1662 saw the Conformity Bill of Charles II. passed, when two thousand Clergymen seceded from the Church. Four years later (1666), the Great Plague and fire of London took place; and two years after that calamity (1688), came the Great Revolution, which placed William III. on the throne. Let our Parliament consider these things, before it rejects the Reforms of the Church which are now called for.

Let us remind the Bishop of London that to refuse reform in the present circumstances of the Church and the country is to encourage a Revolution, for it is not by refusing reforms, but by submitting to them, that Revolutions can be prevented. We trust one of the first acts of the new Bill Office will be, to lay the Church Reform Bill of our Society on the table of the House of Lords, and then the Bishops will not have to complain that they do not know the precise nature of the reforms which are demanded by the people. The speech of the Bishop of London is sufficiently liberal to induce us to hope that he will give us his powerful support in the House of Lords next session.

The voluntary controversy which begun in 1834, has unfortunately divided this country almost equally between two great factions—the aristocrats and the democrats. No writers have arisen to throw light on this great controversy; the consequence has been that the nation is divided, and the question remains as unsettled as when it first began. We have endeavoured to hold the scales of justice equally balanced between those great factions, and by producing a system at once conservative and liberal, we receive support from all parties.

The voluntary principle is the absence of legislation, which is a step in the direction of nature. Let every one do as he likes, let there be no articles of belief, no national church, no national school, and all will go right. That is the language of the voluntary principle; but when we look to the other side of the Atlantic, where the voluntary principle has been tried and failed, we find that instead of everything going right, everything goes wrong. It is clear that if everyone is to do as he likes there can be no government, and no liberty; and as those are essential to our well-being we cannot follow that course. What has given strength to the voluntary movement has been the error of their opponents in keeping up the abuses of the Church and the State; but let these be removed, and the cry for no Church and no Articles will pass away. We say it is the want of reform in the Church and the State which creates discord and disaffection. Let that want be supplied and disunited England will again be united.

The degree of Intelligence and Public Spirit in any country may always be tested by the amount of moral courage it possesses. Now where are we to look for moral courage? Our statesmen and members of Parliament immediately abandon any public measure the moment they descry the symptoms of opposition. It is the same with the Press—for they will notice nothing that will displease any of their readers. Here we see the reason why Good makes no progress, and why Evil

superabounds. Of Moral Courage, there is none, and as for Public Spirit, that has long ceased to animate the hearts of any portion of the community with which we are acquainted. This selfish spirit is the natural consequence of a system of government which is not based on "responsibility;" but when that evil is remedied, public spirit will revive, and Civilization will go on prosperously.

We shall conclude with some remarks on the slave question, in which England as well as America is interested. The nations which still hold slaves are the following:—

The United States have	...	4,000,000	slaves.
Brazil	3,000,000	"
Cuba	1,000,000	"

Dr. Mc'Clintock, in a speech at the anniversary of American Independence, held in London, the other day, says:—

"They had 20,000,000 of people on one side, and 8,000,000 on the other. A great man had said, 'a single man, with God on his side, was a majority against the world.' They were 20,000,000 with God on their side, fighting for the constitution, for freedom, and for justice."

These words from a minister of the Gospel when he knows that his countrymen are not sincere in their professions of liberty to the African, are something astounding. The insincerity of the North is proved beyond doubt by what is going on in Virginia. Numbers of the slaves have deserted their owners, and taken refuge in the camp of the North, now in Virginia. Instead of at once emancipating these slaves, the Washington government has received them as so many goods and chattels, and reserve them in bondage, to be delivered up to their owners when peace is declared. While the South is *honest* in a wrong thing, the North is *dishonest* in a right thing.

No longer will Europe listen to the excuse so often made, that the Free States have no power to liberate the slaves, for now that they have the power they refuse to free them. How can the North hope to retain the respect of Europe when she professes one thing and does another? How can Dr. Mc'Clintock say that God is on the side of the North, when the North thus acts the hypocrite? No! his countrymen must first act up to their professions, before they can be accepted by Him to whom they appeal.

Until slavery is abolished the slave trade must continue, and it surprises us beyond measure that Wilberforce and Brougham, who so nobly procured the abolition of the slave trade, should not have gone to the root of the evil, by abolishing slavery itself. What these reformers feared to touch, is now to be swept away by the hand of dire necessity, and we shall see what a mass of blood and treasure it will cost the world to do it. Neither President Lincoln nor President Davis can stop the march of emancipation now, and we trust the people will consider this, and set themselves right with Europe by encouraging the great work of emancipation. Let America take the initiative, and Cuba and Brazil will follow, and the traffic in human flesh will forthwith come to an end.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC OPINION REDUCED TO PRINCIPLES.

“The faith of the nation is by no means a perfect thing. Its practical basis is habit and custom, more than reason. It is apt to be more loud and clamorous than it has any right to be; it assumes its own earnestness to be much greater than it is; it likes controversy, quarrelling, and disputing; it is wanting in fairness, it will not listen, it will speak, and not always decorously; it is abusive, it imputes motives, it calls names.”
—*Times*, July, 1861.

Such is a pretty accurate report of the Religion and Public Opinion of England, and if we could describe the erroneous action, in politics as well as in religion, which that unsatisfactory state of things produces, we should indicate the precise cause of all the evils which afflict society. It is, however, neither possible nor desirable that we should go into these particulars. It is enough if we can show how this chaotic state of Public Opinion can be reduced to principles, for then the evils arising from chaos and disorder in the public mind will, for the most part, disappear. It has all along been said that, sooner or later, the world must come to principles, and we hope we do not take an over sanguine view of the future, when we say that that time has now come.

The reader will now have an opportunity of interrogating us on our principles. Nothing can bring peace, either at home or abroad, but the triumph of principles, for such is the only remedy for erroneous thinking and acting. Much evil and misery exists in the world, and to reduce that, we must go back to its cause, for nothing is to be done by attacking evil itself. It will be our object, therefore, to attack the causes of evil, not evil itself. By treating of principles, and these alone, we hope to produce a SCIENCE OF MORALS which will be able successfully to contend with evil and misery in all their endless variety of forms.

It is usual to hear writers take credit to themselves for avoiding Religion and Politics in their books; now that which others pass over, we shall boldly grapple with, for that is the only way of improving the world, and expelling evil from it. What are Religion and Politics but the causes of action, and unless we can improve these, we can do nothing.

If the answers which we are now to offer are found to be good and true, they will be like pure water in a dry and thirsty land; and if they are false, they will still be useful, for they will force the reader to think, and to discover truth to refute them. In any case, therefore, we promise

that the reader will not spend his valuable time in vain over these pages. Let us begin.

1. What is God?—God is a Spirit, perfect in Goodness, Justice, and Truth. The perfection of God in all His attributes is a necessary truth, and that is the proper test of all the doctrines of Theology.

2. What is the nature of God?—Prior to creation there would be no worlds, no gravitation, no motion, nothing but God and space, His essential attribute, would exist. The elements of matter being latent in space, all that was wanted to produce creation was the will and act of God. God possesses a double nature: the one nature being material, filling all space; and the other spiritual, animating and governing the material nature. Now if the one nature acts on the other, we at once discover a power adequate, not only to call nature into being, but to sustain and govern it ever after. Intelligence being found in man, that faculty, only in an infinitely greater degree, must be ascribed to the Creator. It is therefore not a speculation to infer that there must be an intellectual nature as well as a material nature, in the Divine existence.

3. Is God all-powerful?—All things which are not contrary to God's own nature are possible with Him. It is this necessary limitation which gives rise to evil.

4. Is Reason God?—Certainly not. Reason is a principle, devoid of personality, and although it partakes of the Divine nature in a pre-eminent degree, it is not God himself.

5. Where is the proof that God is a person and not a principle?—The world abounds with the evidence of purpose, and that involves intelligence, foresight, and will, as well as power. We therefore conclude that our Maker is a Personal Being, and not a mere principle, as the sceptics say.

6. Your reply does not quite satisfy me.—We shall give you another. The omnipresence of God is the proof that God is not a mere principle, for where a substance is there is more than a principle.—See "Philosophy of Civilization," ch. 1 and 2.

7. Has the promised time come when all are to know the Lord?—The new reformation of religion will certainly go far to accomplish the fulfilment of that sublime prophecy. The Church will now be placed on a basis to admit of progress, which is not the case at present, and that opens up a field of knowledge, as yet scarcely entered on, which will in time produce the fulfilment of the prophecy.

8. What practical effect will the discovery of God to perfection have on Religion, and on the destiny of the human race?—All theology depends on our knowledge and conceptions of God, and as our knowledge of God advances, so will our well-being advance. Darkness and Delusion being the great causes of evil, it follows that evil will decline as the knowledge of God and His works advances, showing how extremely important is the discovery of God.

9. What is the method of the Divine Government?—God governs the world, not by direct acts, but by indirect action through the medium of nature. Nature being the creation of God, every natural result may be said to be the indirect act of God.

10. What is a Miracle?—All special acts of God out of the course of nature are miracles, whether these acts affect external nature or the inner man. Miracles are therefore of two kinds, spiritual and material, and the miracles of the bible are of both descriptions.

11. You believe in Scripture miracles, but not in modern miracles; but where is the proof of the former?—There is no other proof beyond the records of the bible, and these are well authenticated documents.

12. Have there been no miracles, either external or internal, since the canon of Scripture was closed?—We have no evidence of any such, and as miracles are an exception to a general rule, we are bound to reject belief in modern miracles without sufficient evidence.

13. The "Essays and Reviews" deny miracles—what is the difference between that movement and yours?—The "Essays and Reviews" deny scripture miracles and accept modern miracles. Our movement is the opposite—for, while we accept scripture miracles, we deny modern miracles.

14. What is Man?—Man consists of two natures—a normal and a progressive nature. The first we call nature, the last civilization. Before the spirit of truth begins to operate, man is all nature, and when principle enters, he is a combination of Nature and Civilization.

15. Then God creates man devoid of Reason, and afterwards allows him to gather that principle (aided by revelation) out of his experience?—Exactly so. Man is born in the want of original righteousness.

16. What is the cause of Evil?—All unavoidable evil may be traced to one original source, viz: the impossibility of God doing anything contrary to his own nature. God cannot make two and two to be five,—he cannot do two things which are contrary, and so forth. These are impossible alike to God and Man. For instance, it is impossible for God to make the wind blow east and west at the same time and in the same area of space.

17. Then God could not give Righteousness originally to Man?—We are not prepared to say that, but this we do say, that God could not create original intelligence consistently with his purpose of creating intelligences out of the experience of the world.

18. Is not Man a fallen creature?—The history of Man is this: after many ups and downs, he has made progress in civilization from the low condition in which was at first created. There is no evidence either in history or in nature of any fall.

19. But how do you account for the barrenness of external nature?—Unless nature had required the work of Man's hands, Man could not have made progress in knowledge and civilization.

20. But do we not read of a Fall in the book of Genesis?—That is merely an allegory to teach us that originally Man was devoid of righteousness, and that it was his destiny to rise above that primitive condition.

21. But where is the proof that the account of the Fall is an allegory, and not the account of an actual Fall?—The test of God's Perfection in Goodness and Power is the proof. If we take the account of the Fall in its literal sense, we rob God of his attributes of Goodness and

Power,—for in allowing Satan to ruin Man, and in cursing Man for Satan's work, neither Goodness nor Power can be ascribed to God.

22. But what injury can it do to believe in an actual Fall? It is pleasant to think that God or the Devil is accountable for the faults of Man, and why then seek to change that belief?—The injury is simply this—that belief in Original Sin takes away all belief in Man's capacity for self-improvement. Original Sin says that Man is incapable of doing anything good—a statement which is opposed to fact, for we know from experience and history that Man is actually capable of improvement. To believe in Original Sin, is the essence of scepticism, for it is disbelief in Man's capacity.

23. Your doctrine tends to raise Man in self-esteem, but I would rather keep him down.—You wish to keep Man down, thinking thereby to gratify your own self-love. If that is not the motive, I cannot discover the reason why you should wish to deprive Man of that which actually belongs to him. It is not humility, but pride which dictates such feelings.

24. Why do the clergy persist in the doctrine of Original Sin, when it is opposed to belief in a perfect God.—Original Sin is a convenient doctrine by which any possible error may be excused and supported.

25. You believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are only one God manifested in different aspects.—Yes. To believe in three separate persons, is to believe in a plurality of Gods, which is a return to Heathenism.

26. Why does the Church hold the contradictory doctrine of three separate persons in one God?—All the erroneous doctrines of Religion receive support from the idea of God being one, and at the same time three, which is an absolute impossibility alike to God and man.

27. There is a wide difference between your doctrine of Natural Grace and the Church doctrine of Miraculous Grace, and I should like to know who is to decide between you.—The Church holds that Miracles have ceased since the time of the Apostles, consequently we must reject the idea of miraculous grace, for if miracles have ceased, of course there can be no Miraculous Grace.

28. Your conclusion is perfectly logical, and I begin to see my way through the controversy. To restore belief in miracles still going on is quite out of the question, for that is opposed to all experience.—Do not misunderstand us. Our doctrine stated correctly is this. "*While the Gospel is miraculous in its origin, its effect on the soul is natural.*"

29. I understand you perfectly. The Gospel is of miraculous origin, and its effect on the soul is natural. Nothing can be more scriptural or more satisfactory to all who wish to know the truth.—You have now accepted the great doctrine of the New Reformation.

30. Then the Doctrines of Original Sin and Miraculous Grace, are the chief doctrines to which you object.—They are; and until these doctrines are given up there can be no progress in morals or religion, nor can there be any reduction of sin and misery in the world.

31. You say that Man is a responsible Being. Can you define the limits of that responsibility?—Yes. The thoughts, words, and actions come from Man, and for these he is responsible.

32. That is a sweeping statement. How do you know that God does not influence the thoughts and acts of man?—We can only say that if God interfered with our thoughts and actions, Man would not be a responsible being, for in that case, the acts of Man would in reality be the acts of God.

33. I have been accustomed to believe that God gives me my good thoughts and the Devil my bad thoughts.—That is a primitive idea which only proves that you have not considered the subject. If God and the Devil dictate your thoughts and actions, you are a mere machine.

34. Has man a Free Will?—Naturally man has no Free Will, for in a state of nature he is the slave of his feelings and the sport of circumstances. The moment reason begins to operate, a Free-Will begins.

35. That is a new doctrine, and I should like you to explain it.—Let the reader try “to give in,” on a point of dispute, when he sees he is wrong. The moment he can do that he will be a free man—and one more Free Will will be added to the world.—*See* “Philosophy of Civilization.” Chap. 12.

36. But what do you make of Predestination.—Every man is born a Predestinarian. It is only with the advance of intelligence within, that man begins to discover that he is capable of choosing and willing, independent of all causes.

37. Is Man good or bad naturally?—As a means to an end, Man is good. He is created capable of rising to a degree of perfection which is beyond the power of the mind to conceive; and, that being so, we are entitled to say that he is created good. Because land in a state of nature, or badly farmed, brings forth weeds, you would not say that the land is bad, but only that it wants culture. The want of proper culture is the reason why Man has not yet arrived at his destined state of perfection.

38. Your recognition of the great principles of Free Will and Responsibility gives a much larger range to Religion than was ever contemplated by Luther or Calvin.—Yes, the object of the New Reformation is to elevate and enlarge Religion, and in so doing we shall raise man’s position and enlarge his soul. Man is the heir of eternity, and our desire is to see him take a position worthy of his high calling.

39. Will not raising Man have the practical effect of lowering God?—No. By raising Man we shall exalt God, and glorify our Maker.

40. But if God does not interfere with the thoughts and acts of Man, where are we to look for the acts of God?—1st.—In the wonderful upholding of the whole system of nature in undiminished vigour and beauty. 2nd.—In the gift of the appointed fruits of our hands whether in the garden of the soul or in the field of the husbandman, for there we witness the finger of God continually at work. We must look without, and not within, if we wish to discover the hand of God.

41. Is Religion progressive as well as everything else?—Certainly. The Bible does not change, but the capacity of Man to understand it does change,—it therefore follows, that Religion, both natural and revealed, is progressive.

42. Is History progressive?—Yes. The events of History do not

change, but Man's capacity to interpret these events does change, showing that History, like Theology, is a progressive science.

43. The Religion of the New Reformation is pre-eminently a Religion of Belief?—Yes. The Church as it now stands is a Sceptical Church, because it ignores Man's capacity. All ages of improvement have been ages of Belief, and we trust Belief will speedily become the characteristic of the extraordinary age in which we live.

44. What is a Religious reformation?—That is only another word for Christianity. Christianity means regeneration, or being born again, and that is reformation. Christ is the means, Reformation the end. To deny the possibility of a Reformation is to deny Christ and his work, and to go back to the beggarly elements of scepticism.

We shall now pause for a moment to give time for reflection. To those who confine their reading to the Bible, or to one particular class of books, the principles we have arrived at will appear novel; but to those who read all sides of a question, it will be otherwise; and we trust our readers will weigh and consider each question on its own merits, and not reject anything merely because it appears new to them. Dr. Arnold says, "He who reads deeply in one class of books, only gets views which are almost sure to be perverted. If I have a confident opinion on any one thing in connection with the human mind, it is on this." The order of progress of all minds is this. We begin with the knowledge of isolated facts, which is the state of childhood. The first step towards manhood is to put two and two together, and in this way we go on, connecting one thing with another until all knowledge is generalized. The mind is now furnished and filled up—the character is formed.

It is generally imagined that men like novelty, but never was a greater mistake. The mind is naturally indolent, and does not like to be disturbed by anything new which requires thinking, and that is doubtless the reason why men dislike anything which is really new. This is one of the greatest barriers we know to the progress of truth, and we mention it that our readers may be prepared against the tendency of the mind to object to truths merely because they are new. A thing may be true, whether it be new or old, and we ask our readers to judge of every statement on its own merits, and without reference to any other consideration whatever.

It is well known that it is useless to quote texts of scripture in support of any opinion, for these may be selected to support almost any possible opinion. It is in consequence of this that we have studiously avoided the use of texts; and if the reader wishes to overcome error and prejudice in his own mind, he must not trouble himself with texts of scripture until he has first learned how to select them. We must first compare the books of the Bible with each other, and ascertain what the Gospel message is, and having done that, we may then use the Bible without the certainty of perverting it. The present chapter ought to be a good preparation to the study of the Bible, from its bringing under review many principles which are essential to the right understanding of scripture, which would not otherwise occur to the mind.

To select texts in an arbitrary manner, and not upon principle, is

certain to produce a contradictory creed, and that is the cause why the creeds of all the Churches are more or less contradictory. We must use our reasoning powers in discovering the truth of the Bible, as well as the truth of science.

45. Having discussed the theology of the new reformation, I am anxious to know something of its political creed. To open this matter, I ask what is the object of Government?—The great object of all governments is, or ought to be, the production of Good, and the reduction of Evil.

46. Where is your authority for assigning so wide a range of operations to Government?—Political economy we are happy to say does not depend on authority. The experience of the wants of man is the best of all authorities, and to that we appeal.

47. Then an enlightened Government is bound to see to the instruction of the people as well as to their material wants?—Yes; to attend to the one and neglect the other, is like making bricks without straw.

48. There can be no doubt you are right. There must be a National Church and a National School, the one to instruct adults, and the other children, if there is to be any liberty and good government.—Yes, every nation stands in need of religious and educational institutions quite as much as houses of parliament and courts of justice. To attempt to govern a people who are not under the influence of truth and principle, or who are under the power of ignorance and delusion, except by brute force, is utterly futile.

49. How do evils in a state like England or America show themselves?—Revolutions, Civil Wars, Commercial Distress, and Monetary Panics are the outbreaks of the accumulated evils of modern times.

50. Why do you prefer the Monarchical form of government to the Republican form?—Simply because republics have been tried in all ages, and have always failed, while kingdoms have generally succeeded.

51. Can you explain the Italian affair?—Cavour's idea was to unite all Italy under one government, and Napoleon went to Italy to help the Count to carry out his idea; but our idea is something much greater. Cavour's idea is nothing without our idea superadded; for the Church must be reformed as well as the state. The Reformation of Queen Elizabeth left the Church unreformed, and the result was the wars of the Stuarts which desolated England for 150 years. And so it will be with Italy if they allow despotism to reign in the Church, and liberty in the State. These conflicting elements are certain to produce civil war and revolution.

52. Why has the idea of a National Church been so little acted on in the world?—Simply because of the difficulties of finding a standard of belief on which to base it.

53. Do you think the New Articles of Belief published by the Reformation Society, a standard which will be generally acceptable?—We do; and it is with the object of explaining that standard that we have treated so largely of Theology in these Essays.

54. I grant that if every man was endowed with the faculty of knowing truth, that it would be easy to reform the world and expel

evil from it.—Essay No. 2 goes into that question very fully, and demonstrates that man actually possesses that faculty. “The soul is the perceiver and revealer of truth, let sceptics and scoffers say what they please.” To ask what truth is, is like a man who asks what a principle is. It is sufficient to know and acknowledge its existence, and feel its effects on our thoughts and actions.

55. Explain the difference between a Revolution and a Reformation—A Revolution is the upturning of all things, and a Reformation is the re-formation of the elements of civilization into a new and better order of things.

56. Can there not be a Reformation without a Revolution?—History rarely furnishes examples of such. The Reform Bill of 1832, which was carried without a Revolution, is an instance. People naturally dislike all real reforms, and it is not until necessity presses hard, that they will consent to sacrifice their prejudices and customs on the altar of truth and the public good.

57. Must England pass through the agonies of a revolution before she can have a reformation?—We hope not. The experience of 1832 and 1846 show that England had strength sufficient to effect great reforms without the impulse of a revolution.

58. Would not a legalized Code of Articles take away that liberty which you intend to give?—No. The right of Private Judgment will be distinctly recognized by the new Articles, and that being so, the interests of all parties will be protected.

59. You think you have only to propose the right thing, and all will accept it.—Yes; we believe in man’s capacity to accept truth when it is fairly placed before him. Without faith in man’s capacity we could do nothing, but with that faith we can remove mountains of difficulties.

60. Where do you get all this faith in Man?—It is by looking below the surface of things, and applying the proper remedy to the actual disease. By treating of the causes of evil, and not of evil itself, we may be said to penetrate below the surface.

61. You teach men to reform their opinions, in the hope they will conform their actions to their new opinions.—Yes; give a man right ideas, and he will go right. All experience proves this, for practice, for the most part, follows precept. Belief produces motive, and motive produces action, consequently action is good or bad, as belief is the one or the other. Precept and practice stand in the relation of cause and effect.

Should we be told the effect of these discussions must produce a revolution on the Mind, and that a mental revolution is the forerunner of a political revolution, we answer, that a revolution in the right direction is peace. The experience we have had of the present movement proves this beyond all question. Not one answer has appeared to any of these Essays. What is still more encouraging not one journal has applied names to us, which is a new feature in religious controversy. We have no wish to boast, but we should be ungrateful indeed, if we did not take this opportunity of making our acknowledgments.

The great difficulty we have to contend with, is indifference. All belief in good seems to be fairly rooted out of the mind, and until we actually force men to read, it is impossible to get them to take any interest in the reformation, for they have no belief in its possibility. Everything is sacrificed to private interest, and when the public interest is spoken of, it produces no response until men are induced to consider the subject. We have been taught from childhood to disbelieve in a reformation, and it is a lesson we have learned most thoroughly. Indifference and want of belief are no doubt great trials to all reformers, but patience and perseverance will overcome every difficulty.

Not many years ago it was said that England and Scotland could never be connected by rail owing to the mountains which intervened, but now we have three or four lines of communication. The same has been said of a Reformation. Mountains have been raised above mountains to stop the way, but at last all these mountains have been demolished, and the road is open. What remains is to go in and possess the land.

Macaulay complains that the ancients never examined the foundations of their knowledge, and for that reason they could make no progress beyond a certain point, and lost all. The moderns have committed the same error, for until now, the foundations of our knowledge have never been examined. We have only been working on the surface, and for that reason we have made no progress. Physical science makes progress, but what is that, without a corresponding advance in moral science. The one progress, without the other, only increases the schism in the body politic, and instead of removing evil, it encreases it. If moral science is now reformed all things will combine to regenerate and perfect the world. The ancients were not reformers, and for that reason civilization perished; but, if we become reformers, civilization shall live and prosper.

The search after truth is finished, and in looking back on the numerous new opinions proposed, let us ask what is the prominent feature which overtops every thing else. It is the idea of a National Church. A national church based on true principles is the panacea for modern civilization. That is our "idea," and if the nations adopt it, they will find in it the sure and certain remedy for the evils of anarchy, oppression, and despotism under which they groan. Those who would cure evil, by using a less effectual remedy will only be disappointed. They may in that way, remove one evil by taking in another, but that is not a cure, for until the causes of evil are removed, evil remains.

We have now completed our design of reducing Public Opinion to true and well defined principles. If we are asked why our writings partake so much of the theological character, we answer that all principles are necessarily theological. They who treat of politics apart from principle only skim the surface of things. On entering on his great work of the first Reformation, Luther posted his sixty-four thesis on the church doors of Wittengen, and in giving forth the thesis of the second reformation, we trust the cause of truth may have free course and govern the world.

CHAPTER III.

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

Mazzini held Rome for three months in 1848, and what was the result but the restoration of the Pope? Was the reason of this unfortunate issue the act of the French in taking possession of the city of Rome, or the act of Mazzini, in refusing to reform the Church? We say it was the fault of Mazzini, and not the fault of the French. Mazzini contented himself with expelling the Jesuits, and opening the Inquisition buildings to public inspection, and left the Papal system unreformed and unchanged. If a single honest reformer had been there to have foretold what would be the result of this short-sighted policy, Italy would have been freed twelve years ago.

Mazzini lost one of the finest opportunities that ever was placed at the feet of mortal man, to deliver the world from the tyranny of the priesthood, but allowed the golden opportunity to pass unimproved. He had only to proclaim a Reformation, and all Rome would have flocked to him, as to a father, and a deliverer out of worse than Egyptian bondage. We say "worse," for in primitive times nothing half so debasing as the Confessional had been invented.

Although Mazzini is sincere, he is crotchety, and will not look at more than one side of a question. All that can be done, he cannot be made to see that without a Religious reformation a Political reformation is impossible; and because he could not turn his mind to the whole question, he lost all. He acknowledged that the great curse of Italy was the priests, and yet he refused to reform the Church. Was there ever such folly in a man who professes to think and to write for the use of others? Italy must look to men of a different stamp if she intends to be a nation.

Such was the unfortunate issue of the Revolution of 1848; and we shall now proceed to show and to prove that Ricasoli and Garibaldi are committing the very same error as Mazzini, and that unless they adopt a complete change of policy, the issue of the Revolution of 1860 will be similar to that of 1848.

Nothing has surprised us more than the speeches of the late Cavour and of his successor, Baron Ricasoli—who, instead of opposing the Papal power, profess to support that power. Can anything be more inconsistent and more suicidal. They (the Italians) take away the possessions of the Pope, and yet they profess friendship to him. That is

the way to stultify their own proceedings, and bring disgrace on the cause. And before that cause can be supported as it ought to be, the policy of Turin, as respects the Church, must be reversed. We have prepared a scheme of Church Reform for Italy (see page 80), which every friend of liberty said would be received with open arms by Cavour, but as yet our proposal has received no support from the Government of Turin. The choice lies between the Bourbons and the Pope on the one hand, and a Reformation on the other; and if the Italians refuse the latter, they must accept the former, as the necessary result of their inconsistent and blind policy.

When we last wrote, reformation was going on favourably, but now stagnation and reaction begin. The statesmen of Turin do not seem to have a clear conception of the real cause of their difficulties, accordingly they do not apply the remedy to the actual disease, for when they ought to be reforming the Church, they content themselves with reforms of the State. But there is a revenge for all this lenity.

We must explain that we do not ask the Italians to become Protestants, but only to reform the Catholic Church, for until that is done Italy cannot be united, or become a nation. Nothing but avowed opposition to the Papal system can justify Victor Emanuel in seizing the States of the Church. If it is right to take the temporal crown of the Pope, it is wrong to leave the spiritual crown, and it will not be until Italy throws off the papal dominion, that the King of Italy will be able to justify his acts in the court of Public Opinion.

We are not surprised that Napoleon has all along felt a difficulty in recognising the new Kingdom of Italy, and that he has only done so now in very measured terms—a coolness which no doubt arises from the shallowness of the ground taken up by the Cabinet of Turin. If Italy means to keep the Pope as her Spiritual King—if the priests are to rule the Italians as in times past—we must bid adieu to Italian patriotism, and cease to interest ourselves in their affairs. But if Italy will say she is resolved to reform the Church, and redress every acknowledged wrong, she may rely on the hearty support of the English and the French people.

If Italy retains the Pope, France and Austria must keep the Pope likewise; but if she throws off the Pope, then a National Church in France and Austria is not only possible, but certain to be established. Let Baron Ricasoli hesitate between two opinions, and he will soon have nothing on which to deliberate—but let him act in conformity with the dictates of principle and true statesmanship, and he shall liberate all Europe from a tyranny which has held her down for ten centuries.

The following letter is from the *Times* Correspondent at Turin.

“Truly it would puzzle a keener man than the keenest Italian citizen or statesman to make out the reasons which advise the Emperor to tarry at Rome. He alleges the strong Catholic feeling in France, and the exhibition of it in the two houses of the French Parliament. But he has the assurance of the whole French press, except the *Monde* and *Union*, and the declaration of the most respectable part of the Catholic people, that nothing could be more beneficial than to free the Church, and build her on the rock of spontaneous persuasion which alone would

give it an unbounded moral ascendancy. Take the sovereign papacy from the Church, and you have a Reformed Catholicism."—*July 6.*

The writer of this letter is puzzled to know why Napoleon keeps his troops at Rome; and we shall tell him the reason. The Cabinet of Turin, instead of overthrowing the Pope's authority as universal priest, professes to uphold it. That fatal course retains the French troops at Rome. The only solution of the difficulty is, for the Government of Turin to plant the standard of Church Reform in every town in Italy, and then the Emperor will have no difficulty in withdrawing his troops. In that case, the French intervention will no longer be wanted to support a power which has fallen. If a motion in the Parliament of Turin was made for calling a Council of the Nation, to consider the question of reconstructing the Church upon a basis in harmony with the new constitution of the state, the initiative would be taken in a movement which would bring about a final settlement. There is a remedy for every evil, and we hope we have now shown how the knot of Italian difficulty may be cut with the consent of all parties.

One would certainly think that the day for the restoration of lost dynasties had passed away, especially when we remember that Russia and Austria have been humbled in the late wars, and rendered for the time powerless, owing to internal dissension. But so far from that being the case, we have no hesitation in saying, that the King of Naples, the Duke of Tuscany, and the Pope, will be restored to their thrones ere long, if in the meantime the spiritual power of the Pope over Italy and Europe is not destroyed. John Knox wisely said, "Take away the nests, and the rooks will return no more;" but if the Italian people will not follow this advice now that they have the power, they must not be surprised to see a re-action set in, which will re-instate all the deposed sovereigns.

The Cabinet of Turin fears to touch the Church, and would rather that the Emperor of the French did the work, and leave Italy to reap the fruits! Now France cannot move in this matter,—for it is only in times of revolution that such great changes could be brought about. There is, however, no reason why Italy, which is passing through a revolution, should not reform the Church. Napoleon cannot take the initiative, but will be ready to follow up whatever Italy may do in the direction of liberty and peace. The Italians have their destiny in their own hands, and they will only have themselves to blame if, through their own blindness and supineness, they allow re-action to overtake them.

The Italians want some aggressive movement to unite them, and that movement must be Church Reform, and not a military attack on the dominions of Austria in Venice, as has been proposed. By attacking Austria, the Italians risk their all in the issue of a battle; but by reforming the Church, they will enlist all the liberals of Europe on their side—a support which cannot fail to ensure success. Let the sword return to its scabbard, and let a Council of the Church be called to unite all parties in the cause of Church Reform.

We have now shown the straight road to Peace and Liberty, and the

perils which surround any departure from it. Having done that, we must leave the matter in the hands of the Italian Government, for we can do no more. If Garibaldi and Ricasoli attack Austria instead of the papacy, we shall despair of their cause, and, in the name of Europe, we protest against so suicidal a course—for they who take to the sword without a good reason shall perish by the sword.

Let it not be said that the Cabinet of Turin fears the Priests, for surely their opposition is not so formidable as the 400,000 troops of the Austrian Empire. The Priests are already plotting against the Italian Government to the utmost of their power—of which the disturbances in Central and Southern Italy are the proof,—so that the open opposition of Turin to the Papal Government will not provoke more opposition than that which they already experience.

Let Italy remember that it is not by refusing reform, but by submitting to reform, that a nation can be regenerated; and if liberty, and not military glory and national aggrandisement, is the object, Italy will confine her efforts to self-reform, and remain at peace with Austria.

Italy will likewise commit a grievous error if she trusts to France to carry her through her difficulties, for France can do nothing if Italy will not act for herself. No; let Italy depend on herself—let her boldly strike off the shackles of the Popedom, and she will want no assistance from any one. Should she, however, prefer indolence, and allow things to take their course, her fate is sealed—she will return to her former state of bondage and dis-union, with no man to sympathize with her in her sorrows. We have not feared to tell the whole truth—for nothing but the triumph of principles can save Italy; and history shall be our judge whether we have said one word which is not justified by the facts on which we have based these conclusions.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA.

Austria is ripe for a revolution. Unless the Emperor meets the present emergency by granting the necessary reforms, nothing can save the empire from going to pieces. Hungary will form a separate kingdom; Venice will join Italy; Galicia will declare itself independent; and Austria and Bohemia will become a second-rate German power. The aristocratic feeling is strong in Austria, while the democratic feeling is equally strong in Hungary. In these circumstances, the impending separation of Hungary from Austria seems to be desirable,—for countries so opposite in nationality and character, cannot be expected to go on harmoniously.

Religious questions present the great barrier to Reform in Austria and Hungary, so that the Church question is the first which must be met. Let a National Church, independant of Rome, be established for Austria, and another Church for Hungary, on a basis suitable to the feelings of each country, and the Emperor may hope for a better future. For the Emperor to think of pleasing the Court of Rome, and at the same time the patriots of Pesth, is quite out of the question. He must either throw over the Pope or the Hungarian party; and if he wishes to retain his power and influence with the people, he must take their part, and not consult the wishes of a priesthood, whose interests are all opposed to the interests of the people.

Russia is inhabited by a people only partially civilized, but capable of making rapid progress. The Emperor Nicholas promised to liberate the slaves, which number over twenty millions; but before he was able to bring his benevolent purpose to maturity, he was cut off by the hand of death—hastened by the failure of his ambitious designs on Turkey. The present Emperor, Alexander II, on his accession, pledged himself to carry out his father's design; and by a Proclamation which appeared in March last, the whole serf population of the Muscovite empire was liberated.

The object of any slave-holding Government is to keep the people in ignorance—and such has hitherto been the policy of Russia; and it is in consequence of this policy that the disturbances have taken place. In almost every Government of Russia the serfs refuse to work,—they say we are now free, and have become landowners, and will work no more. The consequence is, that the fields are in many places left untilled—the authorities have interfered, and hundreds have been shot. The fault was in not preparing the minds of the people for freedom before they were actually freed. While these disturbances are going on, trade is paralyzed, and a money crisis has ensued, which will seriously affect the resources of the Government.

In 1848, when the Hungarians were about to achieve their independence, Russia sent 160,000 troops to aid Austria to put down the rebellion—an interference which was a distinct breach of the law of non-intervention. That false step, however, Russia will not repeat—for she has now neither the wish nor the power to interfere.

Poland is the weak side of Russia, and the sooner Russia gets rid of a nation so different in language and religion the better. Were she fairly free from Poland, she would have a united kingdom to deal with; and with a free population, she might go on prosperously until she would rival in power any of the nations of Europe. Russia's aim has hitherto been to add to her possessions: but if she will now turn her attention to the improvement of what she has, as she appears to be doing, she will command the respect and admiration of Europe.

The religion of Russia is the Greek Church—a Church which is even less advanced than the Catholic Church. The following description of the Russian Church is from the *Times* Correspondent at Moscow :—

“ There has never, until quite lately, been any progress of thought

in the Greek Church, for the character of its theology is essentially unlogical. There has never, till the most recent times, been progress, owing to the character of their religion. Their Reformation was not a reformation of doctrine, but the alteration of a few petty details of ritual—the shape of a cap, the number of fingers to be used in benediction, the tunes of their church music. Their very dissenters dissent, not out of desire for change, but from abhorrence of it. Not truth, but orthodoxy, is their watchword. One outward sign, at once of their childish simplicity and of their fondness for antiquity, is their intense devotion to pictures, not as works of art, but as a sort of “fetish.” We know how in the Russian war, every Russian prisoner that was taken, every Russian corpse that was stripped, had an amulet in the shape of a holy picture.”

The Greek Church, which represents the religion of sixty millions of people altogether, begins to show signs of new life. In Wallachia and Bulgaria this movement is very evident, and but for the want of a free press in Russia, we should probably hear of similar movements in many parts of Russia. Before a Free Press is given to Russia something ought to be done to purify the Creed of the Greek Church, and as a first step to that most necessary element of Civilization, a reformation of doctrines must be carried. This could easily be done by the calling of a Council of the Clergy by the Emperor, who is head of the Church. When the Church is reformed, then the question of a Free Press and a Parliament will follow as a matter of course.

Prussia is the head of the Protestant interests of Continental Europe, but alas! she is far behind the age. The Government fears the Republicans, and in order to keep them in check, she discourages progress as much as possible.

The way to damage the cause of the Democrats, is not to refuse reforms, but to grant them, for it is the abuses in Church and State that produce disaffection, and strengthen the hands of the republicans. The first and great reform that is wanted is proper Church Reform. The King is head of the Church, let him, therefore, call an Assembly of the Clergy and submit to them a scheme of Reform. The existing creed of the Church has long ago ceased to command the respect of the people, showing how necessary a reformation is.

We are now treading on classic ground, for we must not forget that to Germany we owe the Reformation of Luther. Her Dukes and People were the first to throw off the shackles of Rome, and we ask their successors to assist us to carry a new reformation, with the object not only of improving the Protestant Church, but of enabling the Catholic Churches to throw off the Roman yoke. Many of the towns of Germany are divided equally between Catholics and Protestants, showing how important a General Reformation must be to Germany.

The literature of Prussia is in many respects objectionable. It consists mainly of scholarship, and consequently exercises little or no influence on the people, beyond giving them a taste for idle controversy. Heavy dry books which nobody can read have had their day. Let Prussia remember the warning of Macaulay—“the world will never be converted

by quartos"—and they will come to reality. Scholarship interests no man; and when real information occupies the press of Prussia, the progress of the nation will begin, but not till then.

Hegal, Strauss, and Baron Bunsen, have all failed to work out a system which meets the wants of man. Something much more natural and simple is wanting—something to reach the heart, as well as exercise the brain. It is not Scepticism but Belief that is wanting, and if the principles of the New Reformation should find their way to Germany, a Reformation in the right direction will be the consequence.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCE AND NAPOLEON III.

About 150 years ago Louis XIV. overran all Europe, and after a war which desolated the nations for nearly fifty years—1665 to 1713—France came out of the struggle, loaded with debt, and oppressed by a military despotism. Napoleon I. trod in the steps of his predecessor, and after a warfare of nearly twenty years, Europe was again desolated, and France fared no better than in her former mad career after military glory and universal empire. When the present Emperor came to the throne, fears were entertained that the same tragedies were to be reacted for the third time, but happily these fears have not been realised.

Napoleon III. has been sole ruler of France for twelve years, and, possessing as he does a power, in money, fleets, and armies, which his uncle never possessed, he has steadily rejected every temptation to follow his footsteps. Napoleon has declared his empire to be peace, and we are prepared to show that he has nobly fulfilled that pledge.

While the first Napoleon had no command over himself, the third Napoleon has given many proofs that he can rise above selfishness, and command his temper under circumstances which are perhaps unparalleled in the career of any other man. Nothing is more trying to the temper of an honest man than to have base motives imputed to him, and if we were to collect a hundredth part of what the press has said of him for the last twelve years, it would show that the character of Napoleon will favourably compare with any statesman either of modern or ancient times. Show us a man who can rise above prejudice and selfishness, as reason shall dictate, and we have confidence in that man.

It is a remarkable coincidence that Louis Philippe's government, which covered eighteen years of misrule and corruption, was praised all through by the English press, while the enlightened government of Louis Napoleon, which has existed for twelve years, has been uniformly denounced.

On two great occasions (the Crimea and China), we have gone to war in concert with Napoleon, and in both cases the Emperor has acted as became a friend and an ally. The *Coup d'État* and the Savoy affair

are now the only faults we have to find with the Emperor, and although, in looking back on these events, we can see how they could have been better managed, yet we can see nothing in them but what has repeatedly been done in political affairs without condemnation, for necessity has no law. The *Coup d'Etat* was managed to spare bloodshed, and in that respect it signally succeeded, for the greatest revolution which France ever saw was effected with the loss of only some thirty lives. As to Savoy, the cession of that province arose from the request of Cavour that Napoleon would assist him to unite all Italy. Before Napoleon could consent to so great an extension of a neighbouring power he naturally looked to the interests of France; and if it was a loss to Italy to part with Savoy, that was the fault of Cavour in offering to give it up. Savoy and Nice have cost France fifty millions of capital and some thirty thousand lives, so she has paid dearly for the purchase.

It is easy to find fault with anything, where there is a wish to do so, and for reasons which are best known to their authors, there has existed a desire to misunderstand and misrepresent everything that Napoleon has said or done. We are glad, however, to see that Mr. Cobden, who has resided for some time in France, and knows the Emperor, vindicates his policy from first to last.

But we must now come to the French and English Alliance. What would we think of a member of a commercial firm quarrelling with his partner? we should say it was suicidal; and the same might be said if the Emperor was to turn his arms against the English, with whom he is in close alliance. The alliance has been followed by complete success in all that is good for both nations. But for it, Constantinople would have been the capital of Russia, and Italy would have remained disunited. Let the Alliance cease, and let France and England go to war, and Napoleon's power would be paralyzed; showing how improbable it is that the arms of France will ever be turned against her best friend and surest ally.

The absurd cry, so often repeated, of French invasions, has cost this country many millions of capital. It has induced us to build ships, raise great fortifications, and arm 130,000 volunteers. All that is only money and time thrown away, for at no time was there the slightest risk of any French invasion. We may soon have to return to the old times of retrenchment, to make our expenses meet a falling revenue, and then we shall see the folly we have committed in wasting our valuable capital on useless armaments.

America has lately raised the cry of English invasion—a thing which never entered into the mind of an Englishman to conceive as possible. The cry has arisen from jealousy, and a desire to induce the American people to consent to the raising of large armies and fleets. This folly on the part of the Americans, explains the reason why the English have so often raised the cry of French invasion. The two cases are analogous, for we believe the French to be as innocent of any idea of attacking England, as the English are of attacking America.

It is the alliance of England and France, which has made the present age glorious in the annals of the world, beyond any previous epoch.

England has gained greatly by that alliance, and so has France. Let it not be imagined that the benefits can be one-sided, for if it were so, the alliance would soon be broken up. Let both nations try to realize this necessity, and not look with jealousy on the rising interests of each other, on the contrary, let each nation rejoice in each other's prosperity. The interchange of commodities between the two countries used to be measured by units, now it is to be counted by tens, and it would be vain to predict what will be the limit of trade in years to come, with an alliance so well arranged as that which has resulted from the enlightened policy of Napoleon and Palmerston.

It is a well known principle that we are not entitled to impute motives to others without sufficient reason, and those who may be inclined to differ with us as to the policy of the Emperor, are bound to state their reasons for so doing. If any such reasons can be offered, we shall be glad to see them distinctly stated, and we shall promise to give them every consideration in our next Essay. We are not infallible, and we shall be glad to be set right, if in any respect we have said a single word for the Emperor which the facts do not fully warrant.

If we should be told that a time may come when the Emperor will not be able to control his people, and then there will be danger. To this we reply that we may imagine anything, but that it will be time enough to doubt the sincerity of our allies when they show any desire to withdraw their confidence from their Emperor.

France leads the van in the march of regeneration and civilization, but what is she to do with the Church? To maintain the Church in its present unreformed state the French nation must be contented with liberty in the State and despotism in the Church, and these two conflicting elements are certain to produce wars and revolutions sooner or later. The object is peace, but that object cannot be obtained until true principles animate and rule every department of the Government.

Now, assuming that Napoleon is sincere in his policy of Peace and Liberty, we shall be asked what difficulty can he have in at once establishing a National Church in France, independent of the Church of Rome? Is not the great Emperor powerful enough to act without consulting the Pope of Rome—for who is to say nay to a ruler with an army and fleet sufficient for anything? There is a difficulty, however, and we shall explain it.

The Church of France, as it now exists, is subject to the Church of Italy, and so long as the Italian Church is unreformed, that subjection of the French Bishops to the Bishop of Rome must continue. Napoleon waits to see what the King of Italy is about to do with the Church, before he acts, for the great work of Church Reform ought to begin in Italy, and not in France. Italy is the centre and fountain of the Catholic system, and before that system can be reformed, and made to conform to the principles of Truth and Liberty, the Cabinet of Turin must act. It is action, not words, that are now wanted, for until action is taken in the affairs of the Church, the politics of Europe cannot be settled. This complicated state of things is well known to the Government of France, who have shown every desire to reform the Church, but owing to the want of action at Turin, it cannot, for the present, move in the matter.

Never before in modern times did so much power fall into the hands of one man, as in the case of Napoleon, and if the Emperor fails to use that power in the interests of Peace and Liberty, according to his professions, he will never be forgiven. Let him know that the lives and happiness of millions yet unborn hang on the issue of the present struggle between Civilization and Despotism, and that the nations look to him more than to any other man to give them the victory. We need scarcely say that we shall continue to watch the issue with the keenest interest, nor shall we be slow to sound the alarm if danger or reaction show themselves.

CHAPTER VI.

UNITED KINGDOM OF AMERICA.

To explain the Slave question, we offer the following imaginary conversation with President Lincoln.

1. Why do you, President Lincoln, not propose some amicable arrangement with the Southern States? Every great war that has ever taken place might have been avoided if the contending parties had come together at the outset, and tried to settle their differences on the basis of justice between man and man.—Simply because we have nothing on which to negotiate. The Southern States have violated the Constitution, and it is our duty, as honest men, to force them to fulfil their obligations to that Constitution.

3. Are you in favour of the Abolition of Slavery?—Yes; my election turned on that question, and there is not a member of my Government who is not pledged to that policy.

4. Then why does not your army in the State of Virginia emancipate the slaves who take refuge in their camp?—The Constitution does not permit us to authorize the army to do so.

5. But why may not that be done by the Generals in command of the army?—To allow the army to over-ride the Constitution, would be the introduction of a Military Despotism.

6. Then there is no remedy for the fix into which the secession has brought you.—None, except the remedy of the sword.

7. Would not a Revolution, to set aside the existing Constitution, and adopt a new one, be a better remedy than the remedy of war?—Public opinion must decide whether we are to stand to the Constitution or proclaim a new one.

8. Do you hold it to be your duty blindly to obey the Constitution, whether it is good or bad? You are a private citizen, as well as a public man; and if you see that there is no constitutional remedy except war, is it not your duty to propose a new Constitution, seeing that the present Constitution does not allow you to liberate the slaves, as you desire to do?—That is a matter more for the Public than for the Government.

9. We must say we do not think your reason sufficient to justify a war which threatens to be the ruin of both parties. The English Government of 1832 did not stand by the Constitution, when they passed the Reform Bill.—England certainly reformed the Constitution in 1832, but the Government had the support of the People for what they did.

10. Then if the People of America petition Congress to reform the Constitution you would advise Congress to grant it.—I do not feel myself at liberty to reply to that question. When the petitions for a Revolutionary Settlement make their appearance, it will be for Congress to deal with them as they think right.

11. You say you are honest men, but I cannot say you will be consistent men, if you come into power on the principle of “No Slavery,” and refuse to give effect to that policy in the present eventful crisis.—Let us drop the subject.

The States of the South may now be considered irrevocably lost to the Union, and it will be the wisdom of the North to let them go. The first loss will be the least loss, for if the war to enforce reunion is to continue, the ruin and dissolution of both North and South is inevitable. If the war goes on, there will probably be more secessions. Instead of only two contending groups of States there may be several groups all asserting their independence, and on these circumstances, the sooner the war is brought to an end by the acknowledgment of the independence of the South the better. President Davis says, “*let us alone*,” and that demand is so reasonable that no enlightened Government will be able to resist it.

In treating of the proposed “United Kingdom of America,” we refer exclusively to the twenty-two States of the North, of which Washington is the capital. We shall consider 1st, the plan of a National Church; 2nd, the union of the states of the North into one nation; and 3rd, the Election of a King, and the changes of the Constitution which that change would render necessary. These are the three great reforms that are called for, and we shall take them in the order we have stated them.

The Disruption of the Union has arisen out of causes which have been in operation from the commencement of the Republic down to the present time, and that being so, unity cannot be restored until those causes are removed.

Had a National Church been provided by General Washington, coherence would have been given to the various States of the Union; but as that was not done, a disruption in the long run was the inevitable result. There is no example in history of a great nation being produced without a National Church; and if the States desire to see their nation attain the height of power and splendour they anticipate, they must begin the work of regeneration by founding a Church.

The new Articles of Religion proposed by the Reformation Society for the Church of England, are suitable for all other Churches, both Catholic and Protestant, and to show that these articles will in all probability be acceptable to the American people, we give a letter of the Hon. C. M. Clay, Minister of America at the Court of St. Petersburg.

The text of the new Articles, on which Mr. Clay comments, will be found in Essay No. 1, of which the following is a list:—

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| 1. Of God. | 21. Baptism. |
| 2. Nature. | 22. The Lord's Supper. |
| 3. Miracles. | 23. Works of God and Man. |
| 4. Object of the World. | 24. Opinions. |
| 5. Immortality. | 25. Self-reliance. |
| 6. Free Will and Responsibility. | 26. Belief. |
| 7. The Trinity. | 27. Regeneration. |
| 8. Evil and its Remedy. | 28. The Will. |
| 9. The Old Testament. | 29. Truth and Conscience. |
| 10. Secular Knowledge. | 30. Sincerity and Hypocrisy. |
| 11. The New Testament. | 31. Intolerance. |
| 12. Religion. | 32. The Feelings of the Intellect. |
| 13. Object of Religion. | 33. Reason. |
| 14. Conversion. | 34. Love. |
| 15. End of the World. | 35. Redemption. |
| 16. The Resurrection. | 36. Divine Grace. |
| 17. Rewards and Punishments. | 37. This Life. |
| 18. Evil. | 38. The Lord's Day. |
| 19. The Incarnation. | 39. Preaching the Gospel. |
| 20. The Atonement. | |

These Articles have been well received by the Catholic people of France and Italy, as represented by M. Cayla and the liberal press of the Continent, and now, as will be seen by Mr. Clay's letter which follows, they will receive an equally warm reception by the Protestants and Catholics of the New World.

St. Petersburg, June 28th, 1861.

My Dear Sir,—Your second favour with the pamphlets Nos. 1 and 3, is received, for which accept my thanks. I am much interested in the plan of a new reformation. *I have most profoundly felt the want of a religion, where the reason and sentiments are brought into harmony*, which none of the present Churches do.

The blind fanaticism of Calvinism as set forth in Spurgeon, and the fruitlessness of all such false ideas of God and man, are confessed, not only by their failure, but by the admissions of their own defenders. I heartily concur with your effort to overthrow the false system by a new one; and am not one of those who refuse an approach towards truth, because all truth is not at once found.

To ignore man's good nature is just as absurd as to ignore his bad nature. Man is by nature neutral ground, which may be made to produce tares or wheat. It is just as absurd to expect corn to grow without culture, as morals to improve by the doctrine of idleness. The agency of priestcraft, blind expectancy or any other of the absurd nostrums of empiricks, who fail to look upon man's free-will and the God-given-laws of nature, can produce nothing but evil.

Without further preface I come to the Thirty-nine Articles of the New Reformation, and shall attempt to show and avow how far they are *true*, for upon that principle only, can we base the happiness of our race.

1. *God*.—I assent to this article.
2. *Nature*.—I assent to this.
3. *Miracles*.—I assent to this also, except that it is not broad enough. Ancient miracles are just as worthy of belief as modern

ones, no more, no less. I will not, however, refuse to go with you half way towards truth, because you will not go with me *all the way*. (This is truly noble).

4. *Object of the World*.—There is much truth in this, but not all the truth. I think you enumerate but one out of the many designs of God in creation, and that you put the cause for the effect. I think one of the prime designs of God in creation, is the happiness of all his creatures, man and the lower animals. Man's happiness is goodness and truth, which form the prime elements of a matured soul. But I cannot enlarge here.

5. *Immortality*.—I assent to this doctrine because it is lovely to the sentiments. As I do not perceive that it violates any known truth, I am willing to accept it, till a better theory or fact, is made or discovered. That is the way all advances in knowledge are made.

6. *Free-Will and Responsibility*.—I assent most cordially to this Article. In reasoning about Free-Will, the argument is not at all weakened by the fact that events or surroundings, material or immaterial, sometimes overbear or thwart our free-will, or will. That admission goes only to this, that we are not omnipotent, that the will is not all-powerful, overcoming other laws of God or nature. To contend that the will because it fails at times is not free, is simply to contend that it is not free because it is not God, and who ever contended that it was God.

7. *The Trinity*.—I cannot assent to this article in the fair sense of the words used. I think it a waste of time and metal to attempt to make anything out of that old source of obfuscation.

8. *Evil and its Remedy*.—I do not clearly see that you are right here. I rather think nature begins in chaos or neutrality, or rather passive or inert capabilities, which may be evolved in two directions, which for want of better terms we may call good or evil. I see an earth and a seed, it may expand into a beautiful and fragrant rose—or somewhere short of that, make only proper refuse for a dunghill.

9. *The Old Testament*.—Good, I assent. Perhaps better—the dealings of the Jews with God.

10. *Secular Knowledge*.—I assent to this in the main. I had rather leave that word "faith" out of the system. Blind trust is the cause of all our woes! I go for that faith which is the natural assent of the understanding. With regard to its obscure connection with the sentiments, our psychological being, Faith had best be dropped as too indefinite.

11. *The New Testament*.—I do not see any essential objection to this article.

12. *Religion*.—I see no great objection to this definition. There is a little tautology in speaking of "*true*" and "*right*." There may be some remissness in getting at facts, but when the facts are presented, it seems to me that belief is involuntary, and neither worthy of approbation nor the opposite. No man is condemned for seeing that two and two make four. Moral evidence, though more obscure and intricate, is based upon the same laws as matters of fact in mental comprehension or physical expression. "Justified" seems

to me an extraneous entity here, and had best be left out, and some term of real meaning substituted. (There is certainly no merit in belief of that which we know, but there is merit in obeying what we know.)

13. *Object of Religion*.—I assent.

14. *Conversion*.—I assent. Some other word than "conversion" had best be used, for that word is greatly damaged by ignorant interpretation and false meanings, or assertions of fact. (Mr. Clay's acceptance of this important article is extremely encouraging.)

15. *End of the World*.—Very well put.

16. *The Resurrection*.—I hope you are right.

17. *Rewards and Punishments*.—If virtue is its own reward so is vice. The end of all pain moral or conscientious, and physical, seems to be corrective or preservative. When I put my foot into the fire it pains me, else this body might be destroyed. So when I violate the moral law, give to a parent for her loving-kindness, insult and outrage, instead of tenderness and protection, God cries out against the abuse by remorse.

18. *Evil*.—This is fairly put. I define "evil" to be a violation of God's laws in mind and body—the poverty of language makes us call the effect the pain ensuing also—"evil."

19. *The Incarnation of Christ*.—The proposition is more comprehensive than the facts warrant. It does very well however for the cure of the old theologies.

20. *The Atonement*.—I like this well enough as to definition. It is a remnant, however, of Judaism. It is a little obscure, and slightly timid.

21. *Baptism*.—That is more of the lumber of the past; and Judaistical.

22. *The Lord's Supper*.—I do not object. It is a touching and appropriate memento.

23. *Works of God and Man*.—Good, I think.

24. *Opinions*.—I cannot go the whole length of this. It would take too much metaphysical twine to make the whole web. The Mahomedan imbibes his faith with his mother's milk; I cannot say exactly how far he is responsible. As their doctrines are erroneous, they are reaping the bitter fruits.

25. *Self-reliance*.—Very well.

26. *Belief*.—The definition is neither complete nor true. Thought and belief are not the same. Fiction is the creature of thought—mental energy and creation are very different from the assent of the mind. The corollary is well enough.

27. *Regeneration*.—Is well enough. It is, however, too *metaphorical* for life actions.

28. *The Will*.—A little too clerical; and covered up in old vestments.

29. *Truth and Conscience*.—I do not see that you emit much light here. Truth would be the same (all outside of man), if man did not exist. Conscience is rather the perceiver than the perceived. The whole sentence wants the ability elsewhere displayed.

30. *Sincerity and Hypocrisy*.—This is, alas, too true for our self-

elation. Hypocrisy is always cruel, for it avenges upon others the pains of its own humiliation

31. *Intolerance*.—All Gospel.

32. *The Feelings of the Intellect*.—I think them of equal force and dignity. None of God's works are superfluous, or in vain. (We hope Mr. Clay will reconsider this—all are good in their places, but the place of the one is to rule and the other to be ruled.)

33. *Reason*.—Well. But I am of opinion the Deity had not the bible especially in mind, when He created man.

34. *Love*.—Very well said.

35. *Redemption*.—Well enough. The words are, however, obsolete; and rather judaical.

36. *Divine Grace*.—*All Grace is Divine*. Rather technical for use.

37. *This Life*.—I like the text, but dissent from the corollary. I do not believe—*do not begin to believe*, that the world would become a moral wilderness without “the Clergy and the Sabbath.” They may be made very efficient instrumentalities in moralizing the world, but *now* they are the greatest obstructions, hanging upon the haunches of all reformers, and crushing them down. It is against these powers that your society now struggles; and where you will find the heaviest weight in its progression.

39. *Preaching the Gospel*.—Yes, we must preach the Gospel—but it must be a *new one*. The Gospel of man's *free-will*—capability—development—creative power—of love and aspirations after an approach to the Divine nature—in one word the Gospel of Truth.

There is much in your letter on a national church for reflection. A National Church—that is to say a system sustained by the nation—causing a central interest, will prove a great bond of the nation. The trouble will be to get clear of sectarian personal interests. But in a consummation so devoutly to be wished, the end will justify much labor. What you propose will meet with the approbation of the first minds of the country, especially as most sensible persons see that some change must be made, or worse will come of it. When Truth is once fairly recognised, hypocrisy and intolerance will cease.

Such is a hurried and frank criticism of the principles of the New Reformation—take it in the spirit in which it is given. Should my official duties allow, which I trust they will, it will be a pleasure to me to continue this discussion.—Yours very truly,

To A. ALISON, Esq.,

C. M. CLAY.

It is impossible to over-value the importance of this letter. America is not to be despaired of, when, in the hour of her extremity, she produces a statesman who has the moral courage to stand forth and avow his principles in the face of the world. We have no hesitation in saying that civilization, not only in America, but in England and throughout the world, has at last received an impetus which will soon show itself in action.

The following article is from the *Opinione Nationale*, of Paris :

“In every direction Governments are beginning to understand that there is only one way of avoiding destruction and ruin, and that is, for Governments to keep pace with the increased wants of the people. In

France very important Religious and Political changes are going on, as indicated by the openly sanctioned and extensive circulation of books and pamphlets on Religion and Politics, some of which are known to have been inspired from the highest quarters. Among these writings may be cited a very important work on 'The Regeneration of the Catholic Church,' by the Abbé Michau, and a series of pamphlets by M. Cayla, on 'The Approaching Reformation of the Catholic Church in France and Italy.'

"In England, where liberty of association and worship is greater than it is as yet in France or Italy, there has lately been established a society of gentlemen, eminent for great abilities and high character, with the object of reforming the inconsistencies which exist in the Protestant Church, and the promotion of the social interests of the nation. The New Reformation Society is the title which it has most appropriately adopted, and, although established less than a year, the Society already reckons many warm adherents in every part of Europe. The translation into French of the first Essay of the Society by M. Cayla has appeared, and has been read in France with the deepest interest.

"Mr. Alison, as President of the Society—the distinguished author of 'The Philosophy and History of Civilization,' a work of the deepest interest—has just published a plan for a National Church for Italy, which has been approved by every sound thinking politician who has perused it. The plan contains the following propositions, in which we cordially concur:—1. The King, as head of the State and representative of the Nation, to be recognized as head of the Church. 2. The Temporalities of the Church to be vested in the Houses of Parliament; and the Spiritualities in a General Council, to be constituted on a representative basis. 3. The Bishops and other Dignitaries of the Church to be elected by the Crown. The Parochial Clergy and Lay Deacons to be elected by the People. 4. Two Clergymen and twelve Lay Deacons to be appointed to each parish. The Clergy to attend to the spiritual interests of the parish, and the Deacons to the temporal interests, including Education and the care of the sick and the poor.

"The approaching meeting of the Italian Parliament at Rome, and a Council of the Church, under the presidency of the Pope, who will either accept the proposed reforms or be replaced by an Archbishop of Rome, are commented on. In this way will an end be put to the temporal and spiritual difficulties which have so long embarrassed the Italian question, and which for the last twelve years have held the most able French diplomatists in check. This is, indeed, a noble and sublime programme which Mr. Alison and his coadjutors have devised so ably, and most fervently must every true Christian wish to see it carried.

"Paris, 24th May, 1861."

"M. SILVESTRE."

No one believed us when, at the outset of our career, we announced that the capacity of perceiving Truth existed alike in the minds of all men; and now that the problem is proved, we trust the reign of scepticism will come to an end,—for a universal Code of Belief has been submitted to the world, and the world has accepted it.

The want of a National Creed to serve as an authorized centre on which Public Opinion might turn, has been severely felt in America.

Public Opinion and the Press have become a babel of tongues. The consequence has been, an accumulation of all the evil passions of which man is capable—of which we may name selfishness, pride, intolerance, hypocrisy, jealousy, and the splitting up of the Churches into endless divisions and sects.

Society must have bonds, and these bonds have hitherto been the bonds of a dreaded and hostile censorship—the very opposite of what they ought to be. With a National Church to foster the salutary feelings of reverence and good feeling, the bonds of *love*, *sincerity*, and *liberty*, will take the place of *hatred*, *hypocrisy*, and *oppression*. Without a National Creed to give cohesion and consistency to Public Opinion, society is like a rope of sand, held together not by love but by fear. Look at a family circle, allow its members to disregard the rules of conduct, and fear, and not love, becomes the ruling power.

When Washington and his coadjutors founded the United States Government, they were well aware that the want of a National Creed was a defect; but not knowing how that desideratum was to be supplied, they were forced to do without it. If it was right to found a National School, it was wrong not to found a National Church—for the education of adults is surely as necessary to the well-being of a state as the education of children. This was an error—for which America is paying severely,—but under the circumstances perhaps there was no other alternative. There will, however, be no excuse now if the statesmen of America attempt to patch up the constitution without introducing a National Church; and the way in which our efforts have been met by Mr. Clay bids fair for a speedy settlement.

Having shown how a National Church may be established, we come to the no less important object of uniting all the States in one United Kingdom. Unrestricted trade is built on the principle of self-sacrifice, and so is Civil Liberty; and in asking the independent States of America to sacrifice their individual independence on the altar of the public good, we appeal to the highest principle of which man is capable.

With regard to the question whether a republic or a monarchy would be best, we cannot do better than point to South America, which, with one exception, is governed by republics. These governments have all fallen into a state of lassitude and misrule; and if North America is henceforth to be ruled by Republics, and without the aid of a National Church, its future history may yet partake of the same character.

The new Italian nation found that the system of independent states would not work, and the genius of the great Cavour wisely overruled it. Let all the States of the Union be merged into one, as has been done in Italy, and let independent municipal governments be given to the towns, and every reasonable desire for self-government will be gratified.

The advantage of a King over a President is, that the one is hereditary and the other elective. What caused the fall of Poland, and her extinction as a nation, while all the other monarchies, her contemporaries, have survived to this day? The reason is that the crown of

Poland was elective. The fate of Poland, therefore, is a lesson to America. The occasional cause of the disruption of America, was the election of President Lincoln. The jealousy and party feeling which that election produced, brought the United States to an end, as was the case in Poland; and so long as the King or President of America is elective, the States of America will always be exposed to similar catastrophes.

It may be right to explain that the new Kingdom, if that be decided on, will of course employ those who lose their offices by the Revolution; and if the whole cannot be so employed, the remainder will be entitled to compensation for the losses they may thereby sustain. It is right that we should explain this, so as to remove obstacles to a great reformation, which is essential to the peace and welfare of the whole continent of America.

When the whole nation is united by the fusion of its provinces, and by the adoption of a National Church, it is ripe for going forward to the third and final step of electing its sovereign, and of deciding upon a new Constitution upon a representative basis. Let the future King of United America be chosen from the Royal Families of Europe, and by the suffrages of the people, and the new nation will be second to none, either in resources, or in the enjoyment of every blessing of which the world is capable.

Two things are almost essential to the progress of a Reformation—the first is a Revolution, and the second a movement from without, and these two accompaniments of a Reformation are now in progress. A Revolution has come at a time when a Reformation was going on in England, and these great events coming together is highly favourable to the future of America. The only consolation to those who suffer from a revolution is, that it will produce a reformation—that present evil will produce future good, and in the hope that such will be the experience of America, we have done our best to press the matter on their attention.

In England we know the difficulty of carrying reforms without the impulse of a revolution, or some aid from without, and now that America has that which England wants, it will be inexcusable if she remains unreformed. Prove to the people the benefits of a united country, presided over by a King, and checked by a Congress representing the people, and they will, with one accord, go to the polling booth and vote for a King.

We shall conclude, as we began, with the difficult question of Slavery. It has been said, that President Lincoln has offered to guarantee the maintenance of slavery to the South if they will rejoin the Union. Now, this is a rumour which bears its own refutation. Lincoln holds his high office solely in consequence of his opposition to slavery, and to imagine for a moment that he would receive the Secession States back into the Union, and allow them to carry on their slave projects as before, is not conceivable. Should the Washington Government attempt any thing of that kind, the people would hurl them from power, as traitors to the cause of Freedom.

If we are asked what the South should do, we say—offer to the Lincoln Government to free the slaves, with or without compensation, and

rejoin the Union as a United Kingdom, and if they refuse that most reasonable offer of compromise, you will be able to appeal to all Europe, in behalf of a good cause.

The North allege that slavery was the cause of the secession; but that cannot be, for it was the South who seceded, and they, of course, have no objection to slavery. The real causes of the rupture are—first, the loss of power and patronage owing to the election of Lincoln, for the South had always before held the election in their own hands. The President has about 50,000 places in his gift, and the loss of that patronage was one cause. The second cause was the growing evils of Democracy, which the South was willing to bear so long as the elections were in their own hands; but the moment they lost power they were unwilling any longer to remain under a system of government of which they did not approve. Such, we think, will be found to be the origin of the Civil War and Revolution now going on in the States.

The United States Government is decidedly a despotism. In England, only a limited number of offices are at the disposal of the Government, and these few change hands with every change of Government. These changes may take place at any time—an arrangement essential to every representative Government. Now, look at the United States. There all the Government offices are in the gift of the President, and they cannot be changed for five years at least. The effect of this is to place the Chambers entirely in the hands of the Government; and as to Public Opinion, that has no power whatever. Now, all this despotism will be removed, when America becomes a Kingdom.

If America, blind to her interests, adheres to her present Constitution, and refuses to adopt a new one, what will be the consequence? By a protracted war she may subdue the South, but a peace, the child of mere force, will only be peace in name. The old sources of evil and discord will remain. She will have an elective President as before, to keep up the old strife between the north and the south at every return of the election. She will have no true Church, to encourage and foster habits of order, reverence and love, and will suffer accordingly.

The American people have now the opportunity of correcting all the vices of the present system, but if they will not listen to the voice of reason, but to the voice of habit and prejudice, they must suffer, even though the present war should for a time be brought to an end. What is so common in the history of the world as a renewal of wars, one after the other? and that will be their fate, if the present war is not cut short by the hand of Reform. Destroy the causes of civil war, and there will be no renewal of it; but let these causes remain, and periodical returns of Revolutionary Wars are certain.

The one object which at present fills the mind of the people is, the recovery of lost territory and military glory; but when the attention of the public is turned to internal peace and improvement, they will look on the acquisition of new territory, or the recovery of that which is lost, as comparatively empty shadows. Moral worth and character is the true glory of any nation, for that alone can give peace and contentment. That being so, a treaty of peace, offensive and defensive, will easily be arranged with the Southern Confederacy. To the South

the North will say, you have asked to be let alone, and we answer—*go in peace*,—henceforth the two nations shall only vie with each other which shall be the greatest in all that is worth contending for.

CONCLUSION.

We have now completed a rapid, but perhaps a more comprehensive sketch of the present state and future prospects of the world than has ever before been attempted. We have submitted the present state of Public Opinion to a thorough sifting, and shown how disorder and imperfection may be turned into order and principle. To one and all the nations we have preached principle and peace, and have shown how the present state of revolution may be turned into a state of peace and confidence.

To England we have said—centralize the Government and reform the Church. To Italy we say—transfer the spiritual power from the Pope to the King while you have the opportunity, or very soon the Pope will be restored to his lost dominions, and all that has been done for Italy will be lost. To Austria, Russia, and Prussia we say—reform the Church, and think no more of extending empires which are already too large. To France we say—you are far from peace, and it will not be until you have a National Church, independant of Rome, that you can be a free and contented people. And to America we say—follow the example of England, France and Italy, and complete your Constitution by the election of a King.

We said at the commencement, that the great difficulty in reforming the World, was to find a scheme of Reform which would be generally acceptable, and that difficulty may now be considered overcome, by the very general acceptance of the New Articles of Belief. Nothing now remains, but to follow out in action what has been accepted in principle.

If principle in every case is allowed to precede action, there will either be no wars, or at least no unjust or aggressive wars. And if reforms are allowed to be passed by the ruling powers, there will either be no revolutions, or at least none which are not desirable. And in the hope that we do not labour in the field of reform in vain, we commit these pages to the earnest and candid consideration of our readers in all parts of the world.

FINIS.

ESSAY No. 5.

CHAPTER I.

PERSONAL REFORMATION.

In this, the fifth Essay of the series, our purpose is to devote a chapter to each of the three great objects of our movement, viz., Personal Reform, Church Reform, and Government Reform, and without further preface, we shall commence with Personal Reform.

We have three words to denote Goodness, viz.—Holiness, Virtue, Righteousness. The first is applied almost exclusively to the Deity, and the two latter to Man. The use of these words having almost gone out of fashion, it will be useful if we attempt to define what Goodness is, and how it operates. A good man is a man of principle, a man of integrity, in short, a man who acts upon principle rather than impulse, in all he thinks, says, and does. Such men may be rare, but there is no reason why the majority of men may not, even in our own day, answer to the description now given.

We have always considered Plutarch's Lives (written about the year 100, A.D.) better than any other biographical work, either ancient or modern, as it treats so fully the motives of action. Shakespeare, who took all his best parts from Plutarch, falls woefully short of his great original. Well, what does Plutarch say of Goodness? He, who has analysed the motives of all the celebrities of ancient times, ought to be able to tell us whether Goodness is a reality, or only a devout imagination. Here are his words:—

“The beauty of Goodness has an attractive power. It kindles within us an active principle, which forms our manners and influences our desires.” This is most encouraging, but is it true? Has the exhibition of Goodness really that wonderful power over the mind? We say it has. Then why, are there so few good men in the world? This is a pertinent question, and we shall state the reason.

There is an Evil principle in the world as well as a Good principle, and hitherto the Evil principle has prevailed. We have been taught that no such thing as Goodness exists, and therefore, that it is idle to seek after it. That is the reason why Goodness has never had a chance to prevail. Precept has been bad, and that has produced bad practice, but let precept be good, and we shall have practice good. We say that the practice of the world is quite as good as its precept. Nothing can be clearer than this, so that the argument drawn from the scarcity of good men falls to the ground.

Let us not be cast down because the good and the noble are not to be found, for it may be that they only keep in the background, and wait until they can show themselves without fear. Let us remember the case of the Prophet, who imagined that he was left alone in the world, but when the time of deliverance came, four thousand men joined him. It is the fashion to scoff at Goodness and public spirit, but

when that cloud passes away, the public spirit of the people will revive and show itself.

Man, when originally planted on the earth, was little better than the brute creation, of which, the savage tribes still existing are an example. But this is not all, for the child of every civilized man begins with the animal propensities, and must convert these into new and better propensities, and this conversion from Nature to Civilization is only very imperfectly effected in the case of the vast majority. Nature is stubborn and obstinate, and will not be converted if it can help it. Another quality, however, exists in the mind, which acts powerfully in the opposite direction, and that quality is Reason. These two powers of Nature and Reason are ever contending with each other, the one stoutly maintaining the rights of Nature, and the other as manfully sustaining the rights of Civilization.

The education of the men at school and college is extremely defective. It consists chiefly of the Classics, Logic, and Mathematics. Now these studies may make scholars, but they cannot make men. What is wanted is a knowledge of Human Nature, its wants and capabilities, and how the former may be supplied and the latter cultivated. Our young men are thrown on the world quite ignorant of it, and allowed to push their way in the best way they can. But bad as the education of the men is, the education of the women is even worse. The women are educated to be pretty toys, whereas they ought to be educated to make good wives and mothers. No wonder that marriages are going out of fashion, and that Sir Cresswell Cresswell's hands are full of work, when the men are crammed with useless scholarship, and the women have nothing but showy accomplishments to recommend them. Neither the one nor the other are provided with the materials to make life happy and useful, and when a couple rise above mediocrity, that is not in consequence of anything they have learned at school but in spite of it. A complete reformation in education must take place, and so soon as our Church Reform Bill is passed—for it would be useless to attempt anything in shape of a real reform sooner—we shall take the matter up.

A young lady is reported to have told her family that she had been reading our books and that she was reformed. The astonished mamma exclaimed, why child, you were never bad, and how then can you be reformed. "Yes, mamma," replied the daughter, "for *I was very obstinate.*" Here the whole secret is revealed—nature requires to be subdued by reason, for until that operation is performed, we are very obstinate. Civilization or principle triumphed over nature in the case before us, and all who conquer themselves in the same way, may say they are reformed.

We have been asked whether bad tempers abound most among the men or among the women, and the answer we have always given is, that they probably abound most with the latter. This must be so. The women are not so easily made to think and reason as the men, they are therefore more obstinate, and that is only another word for temper.

Our wish and desire is to raise the character of the women of all ranks, and through them to raise the character of the men. Men are too much occupied with their farms and their merchandise to give much attention to these matters, at least, at the outset of the movement, we

therefore look to the women to show the example. Now the first step in all reformations is to know the truth. We are satisfied from what we know of the women, that they do not wish to be flattered at the expense of truth, and when we say that they are generally speaking less amenable to reason than the men, they will agree with us.

Unhappy marriages are fast becoming the rule instead of the exception, and what is the main reason of that, but the want of sufficient reasoning powers to enable the women to meet the difficulties and annoyances of married life. A mother told us that when she chided her daughters for talking nonsense, they replied, that if they talked anything else, they would be cut by society. To this we reply. When the accomplishments of women embrace more than music and languages, and what little they gather from novel reading, the men will discover, that if they wish to be popular they must talk sense, so that the women have the matter very much in their own hands.

But why are the women less advanced than the men? There are many instances on record of women rising to great eminence as thinkers and actors, and as to their powers of endurance under difficulties, they even surpass the men. We are free to admit that the women are as highly gifted naturally as the men, the difference must therefore arise from some other cause.

The want of suitable employment for the women is universally felt and acknowledged. In the higher ranks, the women have ample time at their disposal, and yet they have no useful employments for it. Good reading is all very well, but that without suitable occupation is not enough, for idleness must always end in frivolity. Now the employment so much wanted will be supplied by the reformation movement. Committees of Ladies, for the promotion of the movement, are to be established in each town and district of the country, and these will furnish ample work in which ladies may interest themselves with credit to themselves and benefit to those for whom they labour. The women complain that they are cut off from all opportunity of distinguishing themselves, so here the opportunity so much wanted is supplied, and if the Ladies' Committees do not produce many Florence Nightingales, we are greatly mistaken.

We lately made a survey of the lowest localities of one of our large towns, and when we reported that our worst fears as to the neglected state of the population were confirmed, we were told, "How can the people improve, when there are none to tell them what to do." Here is a wide field of operations. Having instructed themselves in the principles of the Reformation, let the Ladies of the Committee go forth as missionaries, to the poor and needy, and tell them what they are to do.

To take in without giving out produces comparatively little fruit. We therefore say be not selfish, do not hide your treasure in your own hearts, but freely as you have received freely give. We once presented a book on the New Reformation to a lady, and some months after we asked for the loan of the book for the use of a friend. The book was produced, but with the leaves uncut! Unprofitable servant, we exclaimed, you have hid your treasure in the ground, neither using it yourself nor allowing others to use it. We mention this incident that our friends may not be niggardly with any information they may acquire,

but freely communicate all they know that the progress of the reformation be not hindered.

When our library scheme is in operation that will greatly aid the work of the Ladies' Committee. They will see that the people avail themselves of the books provided for their instruction, and in ministering to others, they themselves will share the benefits. We have now shown how the female character may be raised, and how that is to conduce to the general good of all classes.

Hitherto, missionary work has been confined to the few, now a new era will commence, in which the rich will operate on the poor upon a scale adequate to the enormous mass of evil which everywhere abounds. We have the promise that a day is coming when all are to know the Lord from the least to the greatest, and we hope we have indicated the means by which that prophecy is to be fulfilled. The age of miracles has gone by, and there is no other way in which the prophecy can be fulfilled but by instructing the people in a way that is calculated to effect that object. The result of past efforts has shown that the Clergy, without the help of the Laity, can do little in the work of evangelizing the masses. England, so renowned for her public spirit and missionary societies, is weighed in the balance and found wanting, for in tending the vineyards of others her own vineyard she has not kept.

The reformation will be a practical carrying out of the Divine precept, "Let your moderation be known unto all men." "Be not righteous over-much," *i.e.* righteous in that which is not righteousness but hypocrisy. Should it be said that the reformation tends to secularize religion, we reply that it will sanctify politics, and what the one loses will be gained by the other. But the fact is, religion will lose nothing but what it ought to lose, *viz.* its hypocrisy and intolerant spirit.

But why be moderate in that which is good? We answer that even a good thing may be carried too far, for that which is good in moderation becomes evil in excess. This rule is true in religion, for if we were to apply our whole thoughts and time to religion, we should neglect everything else, which would soon bring us to beggary and every evil under the sun. No, the duties of life are numerous, and in discharging them, we must be careful not to allow any one duty to occupy more than a fair share of our time and attention.

The Alliance for the promotion of Temperance has lately met in Manchester. Now, if the object of this great alliance, comprising twelve hundred societies, is the good of the people, their object is identical with our own. Instead of trying to make men good by forbidding them the use in moderation of any of God's mercies, we ask them to assist us in enlightening the people. In this way the Alliance will effect their great object—which they can never do by an Act of Parliament, or the doctrine of total abstinence.

Instruction as to what is Good and Evil is all that is wanting to produce an extraordinary change for the better among all classes, for as Ignorance and Delusion cease, so will Goodness encrease. The masses, at present, are so ignorant, that they are at the mercy of every demagogue who chooses to lead them astray. This is the way how strikes among the workmen are got up. The loss to the workmen and the community at large from this cause is incalculable, and in estimating

the money value of the reformation—which would remove this evil—this enormous item must not be overlooked. Nor is this all. At present, the people are apt to be led away by every political and religious fallacy of the day, whereas, with an enlightened populace, that source of evil will be lessened, if not entirely removed. Riots and Revolutions are happily unknown to England in our time, but let us beware. The state of revolution in which our relations in America have fallen, shows very plainly that we too may suffer from the same cause if something be not done to improve the condition of the people.

When Plutarch began to write, Rome was at her lowest ebb, in the reigns of Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, and soon after in the life-time of Plutarch, the golden age in the reign of Trajan began. Now, what but to Plutarch's book can we ascribe so great a revolution. On reading the book itself, we think it competent to produce the reformation, which actually took place, and there is no reason to doubt that "the Lives of Plutarch" produced the change. Plutarch and the other great men of his day saved Civilization for a whole century, but, alas! it fell soon after. The reformers of those days did not lay their schemes sufficiently deep, and after their death their work was lost. This error will now be avoided. By the Church Reform Bill on the one hand, and Personal Reformation on the other, the work now begun will be stereotyped, and such as may be transmitted from generation to generation.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH REFORM.

We have been struck with the way in which some people speak of the Bible. They say if so and so be in the Bible it is true, and if not it is false. Now this is to idolize the Bible, and to shut out all the light which nature gives. Such men imagine that we have only one book of revelation, whereas we have two—the Book of Revelation and the Book of Nature. The Bible was never intended to shut out the light of nature; and they who use it in this way make the Bible an idol—an evil, the magnitude of which it would be vain to attempt to describe. If we now look at the contents of the Bible, this will be apparent. The first half of the old Bible, down to the book of Chronicles, is a history of the wars of the Jews, and the giving of the law—no portion of which can possibly interest or instruct the nations of Christendom. The latter part of the Bible consists of prophecies, which can be of little use to us, for they do not predict any event plain enough to make a practical use of them. The study of these prophecies only serves to turn man's attention away from the proper duties of life, which do not consist of attempts to penetrate into the secrets of the future, beyond what the use of reason enables us to do.

The New Testament is intended for the use of all times; and there we may reap a rich harvest of instruction if we will use it side by side with the light of nature. The four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are historical, and abound with precepts which are eternally true. The

Epistles, which form the remaining half of the New Testament, are commentaries on the historical part; and as their authors, with one exception (St. Paul), had the benefit of hearing our Lord preach, their authority is almost equal to that of the Gospels themselves.

Having shown what the Bible contains, let us see what it does not contain. The Bible, either old or new contains no history of any nation except the Jews. It contains no scientific account of the heavenly bodies, or their movements, by which we learn the art of navigation, and a variety of other arts. It contains no account of the geological formation of the earth, by which we carry back the history of the world for millions of years. It contains no information as to the properties of heat, air, water, and matter, by which we multiply the comforts and supply the wants of man. In short, the Bible contains neither Sciences nor Arts,—and without these, civilization could have no existence.

Such being the facts of the case, we ask what becomes of the wisdom of those who see nothing in anything that is not in the Bible? It is only indolence, ignorance, and folly which dictate such sentiments; and instead of honouring God by using the Bible in that way, they dishonour Him. The object of God is the progress of the world in all that is good; and unless it be held that Civilization is evil, that object can only be advanced by using the Book of Nature as well as the Book of Revelation in the reflected light of each other. The immoderate use of the Bible creates intolerance, and prevents reason and experience having their perfect work on the soul, and we trust these remarks may have some effect in removing so great an evil. Intolerance is excusable in a false religion, but to a true religion it is a scandal.

We have been accustomed to interpret the whole of the New Testament by St. Paul, although he is the only writer who had his gospel from hearsay. We interpret the gospel by an interpretation, instead of going to the gospel itself. Now if we reverse this process, and interpret St. Paul by the gospel, we shall understand what the apostle means. As St. John, St. Peter, and St. James wrote subsequently to St. Paul, and as their gospels give no countenance to the peculiar views attributed to St. Paul, it is quite certain that we err, almost to a complete nullification of the gospel, by using St. Paul in the way we do. Let us first ascertain what the gospel is, and then the whole of the New Testament, including St. Paul, may be interpreted from that as a starting point. We have found that the gospel means *LOVE and SELF-DENIAL*; and I am sure St. Paul, who dwells so much on these duties, will not be found less evangelical than the Evangelists themselves. To open St. Paul and pick out passages to support Calvinistic opinions, is not a mode of interpretation which would be tolerated with any other book; and it is very certain, that until we interpret the Bible on a better principle than that of arbitrary selection, we shall never come to a knowledge of what it really contains.

Original Sin.

The allegory of the Fall is intended to testify to the presence of evil or want, and to illustrate the subtlety and malignity of human nature before it has been civilized; and, taken in that sense, its meaning is obvious, and in accordance with fact. It was as necessary to teach the ignorance of primitive times by the allegory of the Fall, as it was to

prepare the Jews for the advent of the Saviour by the burdensome worship of the ceremonial law. If it is difficult to read the account of the Fall as an allegory, it is much more difficult to understand how the Jewish religion was ordained by God, and afterwards abolished by Christ. Further, if we are not to be allowed to read the account of the Fall allegorically, why are we permitted to read the account of the Creation, which also occurs in Genesis, in a sense different to its literal meaning? For "six days," Dr. Chalmers tells us, we must read six periods of time, and as these periods are not to be counted by hours, but by millions of years, it shews to what degree of error the literal reading of Scripture may lead, when that is opposed to fact and reason. Again, we read that death came in consequence of Adam's sin; but as we know that not to be true, we are allowed to allegorise that statement. Further, the account of the Fall debars man from the knowledge of good and evil. Now, if we were to take that statement literally, we must burn our libraries and shut up our churches and schools; for, if knowledge is evil, of course education would be the same.

The spirit of evil in man is nothing more nor less than the natural feelings unsubdued by reason and experience. Self-love in such circumstances creates envy, jealousy, revenge, and uncharitableness, and these wicked feelings we call the Devil.

But it will be replied, that God destroyed the perfection of the world that he might show forth his own glory in the gift of Christ; but our Saviour himself does not allude to the Fall, or to his supposed mission in regard to it. Not only does our Lord give no countenance to the idea, but he asserts the very opposite: for he tells the Jews that if he had not come to them they had not had sin. Again, he defines in what the sin of the world consists, when he says that "*This is the condemnation that light is come into the world, and men have loved darkness rather than light,*" and not that Original Sin is the condemnation of the world. With the theory of Original Sin, no perfection can be assigned to God,—for in not preventing Satan from effecting his evil purpose, and in punishing all men for the sin of one, even for his own glory, is not the act of a God who is all love, goodness, wisdom, justice, and truth. If the literal reading of the tradition of the Fall could be shown to be consistent with the idea of a perfect God, it might be harmless; but seeing that it is the reverse, we are bound to consider it only as an allegory, which was necessary to teach the Jews in their primitive condition, but quite uncalled for and positively hurtful in our day, who live under a better dispensation.

We are told that we ought not to reason on religion, but that of course would be putting our candle under a bushel,—for, without the light of reason there would be darkness. Is not reason the noblest gift of God? and, if so, why are we asked to wrap it in a napkin and bury it in the ground? Without reason, Scripture would be useless. Did not our Saviour reason when he addressed the understanding and the feelings of the people who surrounded him? Do not the clergy reason when they address their hearers from the pulpit or the press? and unless we are prepared to assign the power of reasoning to the clergy, and deny it the laity, as the Catholics do, we have not only a right to reason on the Scriptures, but it is our bounden duty so to do. What is

the "*Right of private judgment*" but the right we now claim? We may be told the danger is that, if reason be allowed in matters of religion, we shall open the floodgates of infidelity, impiety, and atheism. Nothing of the kind. A little reasoning and a little knowledge may produce, and actually do produce, infidelity; for there is more hypocrisy and profession in the Church than positive belief; but the whole truth, which is only to be gained by reasoning, produces actual belief, and is the end of scepticism, infidelity, and controversy. In support of this statement, we offer the present work; and if, after its perusal, the slightest trace of infidelity, superstition, or scepticism is felt, we shall be greatly mistaken. It has often been remarked, that underneath the popular faith lies a substratum of scepticism. This must be the case so long as our ideas of God are vague and undefined,—for on that foundation all theology rests; and in bringing this important subject under discussion, we trust the reader will find his faith greatly enlarged and strengthened.

Sacrifice.

St. Paul's Epistles are generally interpreted as meaning a Material sacrifice and atonement; but that the apostle meant a spiritual atonement may be proved from his own writings. The apostle says, "*All things by the Law are purged by blood, and without blood there is no remission*;" but if we take that passage literally, we make the apostle contradict himself. What the apostle means is simply this, that unless Christ had died, his work and atonement would not have been complete; and not that the blood of Christ, taken in a material sense, could take away sin. If the blood of bulls could not take away sin, it is impossible that the blood of Christ's human nature could have that effect,—for none will say that Christ's divine nature could die. It is important to bear this in mind,—for if we interpret St. Paul literally we shall go back to the Jewish doctrine of Sacrifice, which Christ himself denounced, and which the prophets said was an abomination to the Lord. We are to trust in the blood of Christ in a spiritual sense,—for unless Christ had sealed his testimony with his blood, the Gospel could never have reached our ears, and consequently we should have remained under sin.

We may read hundreds of passages on the body and blood of Christ in the Bible to support the literal interpretation, but that does not alter the fact, that the literal meaning is opposed to the spirit of the Gospel and the evidences of fact and reason. If it is difficult to read St. Paul in any other than a literal sense, how did the reformers of the sixteenth century manage to read St. John in a spiritual sense as to the real presence, who spoke even in a more decided manner on that question than St. Paul does on the question of sacrifice, as the following passage will show: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." (John vi.) The reason why Christ and his Apostles often speak positively, and not figuratively, is the defective nature of all the Oriental languages, for these tongues have no word to denote "*signify*." Now although the New Testament is written in Greek, Christ and his Apostles spoke in Syriac, and for the want of the necessary words their preaching when rendered into Greek occasions much misconception.

It is the characteristic of all primitive Churches to read the Scriptures literally, of which the Catholic Church is a standing example, for that

Church reads the Bible much more literally than the Protestants do, of which we have given examples. As Religion advances towards perfection, it will be found that progress can only be effected by reading the Bible still more spiritually than heretofore. This must be so if we only consider the nature of man. Place the Bible before an illiterate man, and he will read it all literally; but place it before a man enlightened in knowledge and truth, and he will at once spiritualize a large portion of it: and if the test of human nature has enabled us to spiritualize many passages which have hitherto been taken literally, that is the natural effect of knowledge and truth.

If we are asked why the Bible was not made more plain than it is, we answer that question by asking another. Why did our Lord teach his Gospel in parables and not by a plainer method of speech, and why does God effect his purpose in creation not by giving knowledge directly, but by withholding it? The reason is, that an independent intelligence might be created, and keeping this purpose in view the Supreme Wisdom has only partially revealed his will orally, and left man to do the rest himself. If it is wrong to spiritualize the Bible, as we have ventured to do, then the reformation of Luther is wrong, for that reformation abolished the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Confessional, Absolution, and a variety of other doctrines by that method; and in now going forward to another reformation, we shall only carry out that which Luther so nobly began.

It will not meet the requirements of truth if we sometimes take the literal and sometimes the spiritual sense, as it may suit our own opinions or wishes, for then we may make the Bible say anything we please. In these circumstances, what is to be done? Has God given to man a revelation of his will and denied to him any certain mode of discovering its meaning? Better far that revelation had never been given, for in that case it would mislead rather than guide. Certainly not: God's works are all perfect and complete, and the gift of revelation is no exception to the rule.

If we make use of facts,—and what are facts but truth?—we shall possess a test which, like the needle always pointing in one direction, will invariably point to the right. Nothing is so easily known as a fact, and we all know that facts admit of no denial. Here therefore we have a certain test of truth, by which a large portion of the difficulties constantly occurring in the perusal of the Bible may be solved and set at rest. This test shall be our guide to direct us when to apply the literal and when the spiritual interpretation. We shall then apply ourselves to the study of the Bible upon a definite principle, and no longer without any rule to guide us. As the revelation of Nature and Scripture have come from the same author, both must be of equal authority; and if apparent discrepancies show themselves, we may be assured they are only apparent, for God cannot contradict himself.

Test of Perfection.

The doctrine of the Divine Perfection is a test which will meet every case. All theology, as the word itself signifies, is based on the divine perfection. This being so, it is manifest that no doctrine which con-

tradicts or in any way jars with that governing doctrine can be true ; and so searching is this test, that I know of no erroneous doctrine which may not be detected and refuted by it.

Let us now take one or two doctrines to show the operation of this comprehensive test. The first doctrine to which we refer is that of man's original depravity. We read that sin came into the world by Adam's transgression, and that death came in consequence of that sin. We grant the fact of the existence of original evil, but not the doctrine that God first created Adam free from evil, and afterwards allowed one of his creatures to spoil the goodly work. To hold such a doctrine either implies a want of Power in God to prevent the work of Satan, or the want of Goodness in allowing Satan to effect the ruin of mankind. Here the doctrine of original sin is distinctly proved to be opposed to the doctrine of God's perfection. The next doctrines to be noticed are those of Free Will and Predestination. It is evident that if God has denied to man a free will, and has predestinated all things, that God himself and not man is responsible for all the evil in the world. There is no escape from this deduction, awful as that may be ; and as such a deduction would deprive God of all perfection whatever, we are bound to reject it, for we must vindicate the character of Jehovah even at the sacrifice of our most cherished opinions. When we reject Predestination and accept Free Will all is clear ; then we can understand how man is responsible for his acts and how God may punish the guilty.

It is idle for people to argue that the Religion of the Church is not Faith without Works, but Faith proved by Works,—for here is the Eleventh Article of the Church, which defines what the Religion of our Church really is:—"Article XI.—Of the Justification of Man.—We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own Works or deservings: Wherefore that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome doctrine."

Dr. Lushington, in pronouncing judgment in the Court of Arches in the Rev. Mr. Heath's case (Nov., 1861), stated that every clergyman was bound to preach in accordance with the Thirty-nine Articles, and as Mr. Heath's doctrine was contrary to the Eleventh Article just quoted, he pronounced against him. We mention this to show that the Religion of the Church of England is *Faith without Works*, and not Faith and Works. It is now manifest, that every clergyman of the Church who wishes to know and preach the true Gospel is bound to petition the Legislature for release from the existing Thirty-nine Articles, for these have been found by the supreme court of the Church to be opposed to the Gospel.

The ancient heathens and Jews atoned for their sins by sacrificing animals, or by burning them with fire on an altar. But this was not all,—for when they were in any great distress, they not only multiplied the number of their sacrifices, but increased their value. They cast their sons and daughters into the fire, and sacrificed them—thinking thereby to appease the wrath of the Deity against them, and thus atone for their sins. Such was the Religion of the Jewish Church. The

modern doctrine of "*Faith without Works*" is practically the same Religion spiritualized—the sole difference being that the moderns do not use an altar, a victim, or fire.

This false Religion may be a pleasant one, for if men can be absolved from sin by sacrifice, they will never reform their lives. And to that it owes its success in all ages. Instead, however, of having the tendency to improve the morals of the people—which is the only object of any true Religion—it has the opposite effect—of which the history of the past offers ample evidence. When will men be wise, and cease to delude themselves with a Religion which is the opposite of Christianity. Surely it is a better and pleasanter Religion to aim at the beauty of goodness set forth in the Life and Precepts of our Lord, than to follow the footsteps of the Pharisees who made themselves whole by Faith in Sacrifice. Faith without Works was the ruin of all the ancient civilizations; and unless the modern civilizations give it up, it will be their ruin as well—for it is a direct encouragement of hypocrisy and all the evil passions. Custom, habit, and the love of evil, will make war against the return of the Christian world to the pure Gospel; but the Light of Truth is powerful, and will prevail over darkness.

Jeremiah was the first to announce that the people loved evil, when he said the priests prophecy falsely, and the people love it to be so. Then came Christ proclaiming the same truth—men love darkness and mystery more than light—in other words, evil more than good. Our own experience of the world has led to the same result,—for there is no other way of accounting for the non-progressive state of the Church than that "the people love it to be so." The reason why people like evil is the power of habit and custom. We have been accustomed to hear of little else but evil, and from use and want we have not only come to like it, but to dislike the opposite. Not knowing good from our own experience it sounds strange to us. There is, however, no reason why we should dislike good, on the contrary, there is every reason we should like it. While good elevates the character, evil depresses it, and those who once taste the sweets of good will ever afterwards dislike evil.

The infidelity, or want of all religion of the Men in our time, is something quite frightful. This deplorable and alarming result has come from the advance of intelligence on the one hand, and the want of a corresponding progress in the Church. The Laity demand reforms of the Church, and in the absence of all reform, they throw off the restraints of religion, and become infidels. Such is the actual state of the case, and as Mr. Clay remarks, if reforms are not soon made, worse will come of it.

We complain of the increase of unhappy marriages, the prevalence of crime, immorality, and improvidence, and yet, we never think of asking what is the cause of all this! The cause is the want of Religion amongst the Laity, and the reason is, the want of reform in the Church. Let our statesmen consider these things, and lose no time in passing the Church Reform Bill when they have the opportunity, for a day may soon come when the people will refuse all reforms, as they have done in other countries under similar circumstances.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNMENT REFORM.

It is with feelings of no ordinary pride that we have to announce that the great Petition, on which the Church Reform Bill is to be founded, has been presented to Her Majesty by Sir George Grey.

This Petition, which may be called the MAGNA CHARTA of Religious Liberty, occupies sixteen pages folio, and is too long to be inserted here, it will therefore be published separately for general circulation. We may mention however, that it contains a draft of the Bill, and the text of the Forty-one Articles which are to be substituted for the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church. When Parliament meets, both Houses will probably call for the production of this Petition, which will bring the matter before them, and in the event of Parliament petitioning the Queen to pass the Bill, we may expect to see it become the law of the land this session.

An ignorant deluded people is what we have to fear. Now the only way to remove that evil is to improve the preaching of the Gospel, in the manner proposed by the Petition we have submitted to Her Majesty. An improved Pulpit will soon enlighten the people, and then there will be no danger that England will become a second America. If the people of Paris had been enlightened prior to the revolution of that country in 1789, they would have submitted to reason, and accepted the reforms that were offered to them, but instead of that they asked for blood, and universal ruin was the consequence.

The Legislature will do well to remember that they have not only given votes to the people by the Reform Bill of 1832, but they have put arms into their hands by the Volunteer movement of 1860. It is manifest that nothing can now protect the Constitution but the enlightenment of the people into whose hands the reins of Government have fallen, and the only way to effect that is to reform the Church, and improve the preaching of the Pulpit. In this way the gospel of peace and good government will have its perfect work on the understanding of all classes. The governing classes will become more tolerant and reasonable, and the governed classes will be easier to govern.

There can be no Social liberty without the knowledge of Principles, and when a complete code of principles is placed on the statute book, and preached weekly to the people from the pulpit, there will be Liberty. Let the people of England prove that they are fit for liberty by sending up their petitions to Parliament in support of the great Charter of Liberty now submitted for their approval. Dr. Blair says the object of preaching is to "*make men good*," and Mr. Disraeli says that the object is to "*civilize and solace*." Now the New Articles will enable the Clergy to fulfil their great mission of civilizing the world, which they are unable to do under the present system of Articles.

It was only the other day that the Emperor of the French astonished the world by granting a Free press to France, and now he has a second time taken us all by surprise by transferring the power over the Public

purse from himself to his Parliament. We have always said that Napoleon was a true man, and the moment he saw that it was for the benefit of his country to abdicate a portion of his power he has nobly done so. Since the times of Cromwell we have not heard of a self-denying ordinance, but nothing is too strange for our times.

The deficiency in the French exchequer is announced to be forty millions sterling, and if that sum is spread over the last six years in which the money was spent, it will give the sum of £8,300,000 a year extra to be extorted from the people. Now we are all ready enough to see the faults of our neighbours, but let us look at home and we shall see the same thing. The expenditure of this country has been increased twenty millions per annum since 1854, so that we are even in a worse position than the French. Retrenchment must now be the order of the day. Let us not be behind the French in the great and indispensable work of retrenchment, and if our plan of Government Reform is carried out, we promise that very soon this sum of £20,000,000 will disappear from the estimates.

In 1851, the cost of the army was £9,000,000, and the navy, £6,000,000, together £15,000,000. In 1861, the army cost £17,000,000, and the navy, £13,000,000, together £30,000,000. In ten years the cost of our armaments has been doubled, and until we reduce this enormous expenditure to the limits of 1851, we cannot expect to enjoy peace or prosperity.

It has been said that the great object of all Governments is to keep their places and do nothing, and looking to the mass of work to be done, we cannot say that there is no truth in the remark. The day of reform, however, is at hand, as the following speech of Mr. Leatham, M.P., shows.

“Does any one suppose that England, which is the very centre of free opinion, at a moment when the whole civilised world is beginning to tremble with the pulsations of a new and sudden life, can remain sleeping in indolence, and altogether insensible to the universal vibration? More than once the dignity and safety of the empire seemed to tremble in the balance; and if there is any man in this company who, from the recurrence of that inevitable agitation—for it is only a question of time—fears peril to the State, let him apply himself to removing that ignorance which is danger. If this be our endeavour, and if our efforts be crowned with success, the storm may burst upon us—it may shake to the foundations many things; but I feel convinced it will pass away, leaving neither desolation nor mourning behind it, but bracing all things that are great and noble in the character of our people, and adding new life to the State, new lustre to the Crown, and glorious centuries to the history of England.”

The great value of these remarks is, that they show the connection between things moral and physical, which is so apt to be overlooked in this material age, but which must be taken into consideration before the country can be restored to a healthy state. Mr. Leatham seems to expect a reformation or revolution in this country, and we are of the same opinion. Unless a complete system of reforms in the Church and the State are immediately carried out, a revolution is certain to break out sooner or later. The sole question is a question of time, *i.e.* whether

the expected "outburst" will come next year or the year after. A dead lock would have come with or without the withdrawal of the Cotton supply, the only difference which that makes is, that it hastens the advent of the necessary reforms. But let us not be alarmed at the coming changes, for as Mr. Leatham says, they will bring good and not evil, for it was impossible that the present unsatisfactory state of things could go on much longer.

Some short-sighted politicians talk as if everything had been reformed, but now that we have examined into the actual state of affairs, it turns out that reform has hitherto only been applied to the surface, and instead of having arrived at the end of reform, we have only come to its beginnings. We lately asked an experienced Member of Parliament if he did not think we were coming to a dead lock, and he replied, that nothing effective would be done in the way of reform until we came to a dead lock! We do not take so gloomy a view of the future as this, for we hope and believe that Parliament will pass the necessary Reformation Bills before we come to a dead lock, and thus prevent anything of the kind.

We observe with dismay a general gathering of the Electoral Reform societies at Leeds. This is a new attempt to restore life to the defunct reform agitations of the past. The evil of this movement is, that it occupies the ground which would otherwise be taken up with real and practical reform. While it can do no good it can do much harm. There is no party in the House of Commons who really wish Electoral Reform, and to agitate for an impossible thing is as idle and injudicious as the O'Connell agitation of 1839. If the good of the people is the object of the Leeds Conference, they will keep Electoral Reform in abeyance for the present, and go for such reforms as are practical and suited to the present circumstances of the country.

To propose the Ballot and Universal Suffrage to England, at a time when these institutions are on their trial in America and Australia, is truly preposterous. As well propose anarchy and revolution at once, for the Ballot and Universal Suffrage have already produced these in America, and may soon do the same for Australia. Mr. W. Jackson, M.P., who has hitherto voted for the Ballot, takes the proper view of the matter. He said the other day, that if he found the Ballot did not answer in America he would abandon it. Let the Leeds reformers follow this sound advice, and they will act like men of business, who do not shut their ears to the language of experience and common sense.

About forty years ago the idea of providing Mechanics' and Scientific Institutions began, and now there are no less than two thousand of them. These institutions have done some good, but their day has passed away. The reason of this is, that dry science and mechanics do not touch the heart, and that being so, they can never convert the mind, or produce that enlightenment which is necessary. We believe that our plan of enlightening the world (by the pulpit) is the only proposal that has met the necessities of the case. While that does not run counter to mechanics and science, it will supply what these do not and cannot give. The difficulty which stood in the way of bringing the pulpit to bear on the many was its imperfections, but that difficulty will now be entirely removed by the new Articles of Religion.

Rub cloth the wrong way and see how rough it becomes, but rub it right and it will be smooth. So is it with reform. Begin Church Reform with the Articles and you will have no opposition, but begin with the Church Services and you will find how rough the way is. Begin Electoral Reform by enlightening the people and you will prepare them for power, but place power in their hands before they know their right hand from their left, and there will be danger. Begin Government Reform by mere retrenchment without improving the management, and you will be pound-foolish and penny-wise.

By beginning at the causes of evil every one will see the necessity of the proposed reforms, but begin at the effects and no one can see it. We are all too ready to jump to conclusions. We have not patience to go the right way to gain our purpose, and for that reason reform makes no progress. We hope we have now shown to a demonstration the cause of all the failures of the past, both as regards reforms in the State and the Church, and we trust our statesmen and politicians will take the hint and begin their reforms not at *effects* but at *causes*.

If any thing is needed to prove that a new Reformation is essentially conservative, we need only refer to the national debt. With a reformed Church and an enlightened people there will be no danger of revolutions, but with the Church unreformed, and infidelity and ignorance on the increase, revolution and danger to the national debt are only questions of time. Let the rich and the noble look the future fairly in the face, and no longer sit still and allow things to take their own course, for assuredly that course will be a bad one.

Churchmen fear to meet dissenters half way, and dissenters fear to meet churchmen, lest either should lose by proximity. But why should they fear contact with truth and justice? Is it possible that either can lose caste in such good company. On the contrary, is it not certain that both will be infinite gainers thereby. We say, therefore, let neither fear to meet each other on the neutral ground of the new reformation, for its ways will be ways of pleasantness, and its paths peace. There is nothing so unworthy of men as jealousy, let us therefore leave such feelings to children, and act as become men and brethren.

The other Church reforms which will probably follow the passing of the Reform Bill of the Articles, are the following—1st, the reformation of the Convocation; 2nd, reform of the Patronage of the Church; and 3rd, the reform of the Prayer Book. By the present constitution of Convocation, that body does not truly represent the Church, for while it only represents one-third of the Clergy, the Laity is not represented at all!

By the existing system of election, no Clergyman can rise by merit. This is a serious drawback, for no encouragement is held out to the Clergy to distinguish themselves, and this is the great reason why so few eminent men exist in the Church. The simple way to effect the desired object is, to give the election of the Clergy to the people. The people have an inherent right to the election of their pastors, and so soon as this right is conferred upon them, the Clergy will exert themselves, and we shall see progress in the clerical profession as well as in other professions. The papers are filled with complaints from the Curates of the Church, who are compelled to do all the work, and are half-starved into the bargain. Now the simple remedy for this is, to

give the election to the people, and then the Curates will rise to be Rectors and Deacons according to their merits. The Prayer Book and Services of the Church want great reforms, but as these ought to be the carrying out of the Articles, it would be impossible to touch them until the question of the Articles is first settled.

To carry any or all these great reforms, more unity of opinions is required than at present exists, and that want will be supplied the moment our Bill of Articles is passed. Do not let us waste our strength on impossible things, and in deferring the consideration of these indispensable reforms until after the great Charter of Religious Liberty is accepted and ratified by the nation, we act upon the sound principle of taking one thing at a time, and of beginning at the beginning. To begin at the end as some would have us do, is to act like children, which could end in nothing but adding to the confusion and anarchy already existing.

We have been told that men are not made to act in harmony with each other, but yet that progress is desirable. Let us tell such false reasoners that if men are incapable of uniting that they are likewise incapable of progress, for without unity there can be no progress. To say that men are not born to agree, is the language of scepticism, a conclusion which is falsified by the history of man, for we know that he has made great progress, and that such progress has been made by advances in the direction of unity. It is ignorance and delusion that keep men divided; let these be removed, and it will be impossible for men to disagree.

It is a well known proverb that "a foreseen dearth never comes," and we may add that "a foreseen revolution never comes." Foresight is the faculty by which to prevent coming evils, and by showing the danger that is now threatened of a revolution we take the best means of preventing it.

Revolutions and Civil Wars are like the letting out of water, for we never know where they may stop or when they may be brought to an end. Although we may not like reform, we must recollect that the choice is now between reform and revolution, and those who would prefer the latter only show their ignorance of what a revolution is. Look at America, which is involved in universal ruin, and we may learn a lesson to make any possible sacrifice to prevent a revolution. The new reformation will give a new lease of peace, progress, and prosperity, and we shall once more be honored to be known as the nation which fights its revolutions in the Press and the Parliament, and not in the field or the streets.

We have now taken a rapid glance at the three great reforms undertaken by our Society, viz., Government reform, Church reform, and Personal reform, and it is only necessary to show the arrangement which have been made for carrying them out. The General Committee of the Society is to be divided into three sections, to each of which is to be assigned one of the three reforms. There will be one committee for GOVERNMENT REFORM, another for CHURCH REFORM, and the third for PERSONAL REFORM. Such is our plan of operations, and the moment the committees are completed the names shall be published.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

The great object of the Reformation is to overthrow Satan and his Kingdom. Now what is Satan and that Kingdom of which we hear so much, and of which we know so little? We answer that Satan is the natural feelings and affections when they are not ruled by the understanding and the reason. Allow the reason and the intellect to govern us, and Satan and his Kingdom are utterly destroyed.

“The trite remark is not true, that men and nations are uniformly governed by their real interests. They are not even governed by what they believe to be their interest, for Passion and Prejudice, Likings and Aversions, have their full sway in political as well as in private life.”—*The Times*, October, 1861.

Here we learn a great truth, that Self-interest is not the only ruler of the world, but that another power exists more potent still. This wicked and rebellious spirit which overrules self-interest we are accustomed to call the Devil. We are all cognizant of this sad reality from our own experience, but let no man despair. There is a remedy for every evil, and the remedy for the devilish spirit within us all is reformation. True opinions produce new and better feelings, and these new feelings will now gain the mastery.

It is because good feeling is not as yet powerful enough to overrule bad feeling that evil preponderates, but let reformation principles prevail, and the kingdom of Satan will come to an end. It is useless to attempt to change our bad feelings directly or all at once, for that has often been tried, and has always failed. No, we must attack the evil at its source by expelling ignorance and delusion, and that which was impervious to a direct attack will yield to an indirect attack.

Let it never be forgotten that one evil feeling cannot improve or cast out another evil feeling, for Satan cannot cast out Satan. It is only by improving our opinions and beliefs, by the adoption of true opinions on the one hand, and the casting away false opinions on the other, that we can effectually operate on the corrupt feelings of the heart, and improve them.

Many men have conquered themselves in the way now explained, and there is no reason why all men may not do the same. We say, therefore, let no man or woman despair, for all may deliver themselves from the tyranny of their evil passions by following the dictates of truth and justice. There is not a man, woman, or child, who is not personally interested in carrying the reformation, and that being so, we ask one and all to lend us a helping hand in the great and good work we have undertaken. Let us not be overcome of evil as heretofore, but let us henceforth overcome evil with good.

God, the author of our being, is the Perfection of Righteousness. That is the pattern to which we are to aspire—of which Christ Jesus God manifest in the flesh, is the expression. To aspire to the likeness of God is the religion of the Reformed Church, and in giving effect to that aspiration—the highest of which man is capable—we thereby glorify our Maker. We cannot deceive God, and to profess to glorify Him with words without actions, will not avail with Him who seeth all things. Self-reformation is the only true Religion, and in fulfilling this duty we become fellow-workers with our Maker in working out the happiness of our race. It will be observed that this doctrine is the opposite of what we hear from the pulpit, and shows how necessary a reformation is.

The proper test of Divine Truth is the perfection of God in Wisdom and Holiness, and that is the test by which the Reformed Articles have been compiled. It is by using the searching and comprehensive test of God's perfection that we have been able to separate the wheat from the tares, and produce a result which must command the assent of every christian. By imitating the perfections of God on the Earth we shall respond to the words of our daily prayer, when we say "*Thy will be done on the Earth as it is in Heaven.*" That is the object of the new creed, and we commend it to the earnest and attentive study of our readers, for, if we do not mistake the signs of the times, the new Articles are destined to bring the kingdom of Satan to an end.

Amusement, idle frivolity, and to scoff at all that is serious, has come to be thought the perfection of manners. But, alas, this life is a reality, and they who thus disregard the dictates of truth and justice must pay the penalty. Those who spend the best of their days in such folly, will find that there is nothing left to them to solace their riper years but a soul that is worse than useless.

When we turn to the working classes, we find them no better. Instead of improving they are going backwards. Their minds are being fed by trashy publications, and there are none to raise their voices against an evil which will, unless checked, humble this country in a way that is little expected. Whether we look at the high or the low, we find a gradual falling off in the moral standing of the people. Surely we have had enough of what is called fast manners, and that now at last men will be serious, and set themselves to work out a reformation.

The good and the noble have almost died out, for go where we will, we know not where to find good people. We have arrived at the bottom of the ladder, and we knew it not. All have, as it were, to be remade—everything has to be done, but where is the power equal to so great an achievement as the regeneration of this world of ours. We have found that power—hundreds and thousands have already joined the movement, and although these comprise members of every church and every party, they are linked together in one common bond—even that of reformation. Here then we discover a power equal to the conquest of the world, for union is power.

Mr. Clay has said, that the new reformation reconciles the Reason with the Sentiments, which none of all the numerous existing Churches or Religions do. Such being the favourable circumstances in which we

come before the world as reformers, it is only what is to be expected, if a great and glorious result, unknown to the world before, is now achieved.

The New Articles of Belief will change and improve the whole character of our pulpit ministrations. The Clergy are at present bound to preach in conformity with the Thirty-nine Articles of the Prayer Book, but when the New Articles become the law of the land, the Clergy will conform their preaching to them, and in proportion as the New Articles are superior to the Old Articles, so will the preaching of the Churches of the New Reformation be superior to the preaching of the Churches of the Old Reformation.

It is by means of the Clergy and the Churches that we propose to reform the world. At present very little is learned from the pulpit, and if this is doubted, we point to the men and women the unreformed Churches have produced. What amount of real knowledge do the people possess, and how far have they passed from nature to a state of civilization and regeneration. We have not said, "be ye warmed," and have not at the same time given the necessary clothing, for we have not only said, reform the preaching of the pulpit, but we have supplied—by a definite Code of Articles—the means by which that object is to be accomplished. When order and consistency are introduced into the pulpit, the progress of the people in the knowledge of all that is good and true will be sure and certain.

When we began our work we were told we were visionaries, striving after an impossible improvement of the world. We replied that we did not think so, and that it was time enough to predict defeat when our proposal had had a fair trial and was rejected. Months passed on, essay after essay made their appearance, and the threatened opposition never came. Committees were formed, public meetings held, and all passed off in harmony and good will. After having been before the world for twelve months, and passing successfully through the ordeal of the press and the lecture room, the Reformation has carried the day.

Nothing but an imperative sense of duty would have induced us to undertake the responsible office of directing the movement; but having once put our shoulder to the wheel we shall not look back. The times are ominous, and we doubt not the next six months will prove to every one that if we had not had a Reformation, we should certainly have had a Revolution.

The present being the first attempt that has ever been made to reform the Churches upon Evangelical principles, we shall be asked, why a reformation was not tried long ago? The simple answer is, that no one possessed the moral courage to make the proposal. The amount of intolerance in the world exceeds belief, and that is the reason why no one has ventured to tell the whole truth. Now that the difficulty has been met, we shall be able to estimate the amount of suffering which intolerance has entailed on the world, for up to the present time it has deprived us of the blessings of a reformation which might have been carried a hundred years ago as well as now.

It was Lord Bacon who introduced the short-sighted system of keeping Religion and Politics apart, and we have unfortunately followed his ad-

vice ever since. There was great excuse for this weakness on the part of Bacon, for if he had touched Religion he would have been sent off to the Tower to atone for the indiscretion; but we live in happier times, and that which he was not at liberty to do, we can do without the slightest danger to personal liberty.

To do right in politics is religion as well as to do right in other things, and unless we take theological considerations along with it in our political movements we cannot know right from wrong, nor can we unite people so as to carry any measure of general importance. It is the same with the Church, if we treat Church matters apart from Politics we leave behind a source of discord which will effectually prevent any possible reform. The experience of the last two centuries fully confirms what we have now said, and if we are allowed to refer to the meetings which have been held in connection with our own movement, in which both Politics and Religion have been introduced, and where nothing but concord was the result, we shall have a further confirmation of the same thing. Nature is one, and unless we legislate for it, upon principles which embrace the whole, we cannot expect to produce a result which will be acceptable to all parties.

Nothing but the blindness and perverseness of human nature prevents the world from being improved and perfected, for true it is that man has his destiny in his own hands if he would only believe it. If any one expects evil, evil will come, for that very expectation produces the thing which is expected. Now reverse this and you will have the opposite result. Let every one expect good, say a general reformation, in morals, manners, customs, and religion, and that expectation will be realized, for then every one will act in accordance with his expectation, and that very action produces the good expected.

The great difficulty is to induce Belief in the minds of men. But if we are able to show how the desired reformation may be effected, as we have endeavoured to do, this want of Belief ought to be supplied. No complaint has been made by the people that they cannot understand our books, and that being so, there is no reason why Belief may not take the place to unbelief. Too long have we fed on the empty husks of unbelief, now let us take a plentiful meal of wholesome food, and we shall be fed and nourished.

Population goes on encreasing, and unless some general improvement ensues, the wants of man will infallibly outstrip his resources, when the world of the future will become worse than the world of the present. We must either go forward to an improvement, or fall backward into a decline, and when we have shown how a great reformation may be carried, it will be our own fault if we turn our backs on a movement so full of promise. Away then with doubts and fears, for why should we complain of the world not being better than it is, when we may improve it.

Scepticism and Self-condemnation have done nothing for us, now let us give Belief and Self-reformation a fair trial, and we answer for it that the world of the future will exceed in glory the world of the past, as much as the sun exceeds the moon in splendour. In saying so much, we only predict the natural results of the movement. While we do not

wish to raise expectations too high, it is only right that we should not state the case less favourably than the facts warrant.

We must not conclude without one word to the press. There is no class who are more vitally interested in the movement than the Daily press; for, without a reformation, the press cannot be a free press. The Church Reformation Bill of our Society is to be brought before Parliament in March next, and it is highly desirable that the press should bring the matter prominently before their readers without delay, so that the public may be prepared for it when the Bill comes to be discussed in Parliament. The Press has hitherto given us almost no assistance. All the work has been thrown on ourselves. Now this ought not to be. The office of the press is to keep the public informed as to what is going on, and we call on them to do their part. There was some excuse for the silence of the press when the movement first began, but now that the matter has been taken up by the public, we have a right to expect assistance from those who occupy the influential position of public journalists.

Those who look for any thing new, either in our principles or objects, will be greatly disappointed. Our object is neither novelty nor change, for the truths we have spoken are not new but old. All we ask is order and consistency, for with these alone mankind will assuredly be changed and regenerated. We have sifted the wheat and cast away the tares, and that is all we have done.

The tendency of human nature is to take a wrong course. Naturally man does not like principle; he may therefore be considered to be naturally opposed to a reformation. This fact will account for the prolonged absence of any new reformation. At first sight it seems strange that although all men see the want of a reformation none should have proposed one. But when we remember that man is naturally disposed the other way, the enigma is explained. Now, how are we to counteract this evil tendency? *SELF-INTEREST* is our weapon. Consult Self-interest, and you will vote for the reformation.

Evil produces want, poverty, discontent, and unhappiness, and good produces wealth, comfort, and happiness. Those who object to reformation, choose evil, and those who accept a reformation, choose good. Nature is powerful, but Civilization is more powerful still, for we believe these facts only require to be universally known and understood to induce all men to deny their natural feelings at the call of reason. To do that is to produce a reformation, and to change a partially civilized world into a civilized world.

To attempt to estimate in money the gain which is offered by the reformation would be impossible, for the major part of that gain consists not of dollars, but of happiness. That the reformation will double the resources of England and greatly reduce the expenditure of the country we have no doubt, but, as already said, any money consideration can only indicate a small part of the promised gain. We have said that the new reformation is peace. We are not going to set every man at variance with his own household, as in primitive, on the contrary, we are going to allay all differences by introducing a religion based on principles which can produce nothing but peace and concord.

The great error into which the Churches have fallen is in ascribing

everything to God and nothing to man. Now, although God is the original cause of all things, Man is the immediate cause of every thing he has to do with. Every thing has an original cause, and a proximate cause, and it is necessary to distinguish between these if we wish to know the truth. This is particularly necessary in matters of religion, for if we ascribe the acts of Man to God, which we are so apt to do, in order to release ourselves from the responsibility of our own acts, we throw the whole system of religion into disorder and hopeless confusion. In the New Articles of Religion we have studiously avoided this great error, and that is the reason why so many of the doctrines of Religion have undergone important changes at our hands.

The want of a Moral Science, worthy of the name, has long been felt, but all men saw this was impossible so long as the church was un-reformed. Now there is no obstruction to this perfection of the science, and we hope the present work will lay the foundation of a moral science, the object of which will be the expulsion of ignorance, want, and evil, from the world. Any object less than that is unworthy of the name of "Moral Science," and any system less comprehensive than our own will be insufficient to accomplish its great mission.

If it should be said that we pass too rapidly from one subject to another, we answer that it is only in taking a view of all subjects that we can get a correct view of any one point. Nature is one whole, and if we wish to know and understand nature, we must survey the whole. We might easily write volumes on any one doctrine, but when that was done the reader would be as far as ever from his object. As already said, we must look at the whole circle of truth, and to do that we must be brief on the particular points, or we would fall into the error we condemn so much in others, of writing many volumes which no man can read. The Rev. Sidney Smith says, that brevity is to literature what charity is to religion, and with so great an authority in favor of our method of writing, we cannot doubt that we have chosen the only plan which could accomplish the object we have in view.

We now conclude the history of the rise and progress of the new Reformation; and if we may estimate the time that will be necessary to complete our work by the progress made during the ten months of our existence as an organized society, we should say that the Reformation will certainly be completed within the space of five years, as originally contemplated by the prospectus of the society.

Great and world-wide events come to maturity much more rapidly than minor events, for the more widely the sphere of operations is extended, the greater is the impulse produced, and for that reason we feel assured that the New Reformation will be rapid in its progress beyond all precedent. The pen, the printing press, and the penny postage have done their several parts, let action now follow, and the noblest Reformation the world ever saw will be consummated.

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Artillery first used	1383	States General meet at Paris ..	1789
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John Huss burned at Prague ..	1415	Partition of Poland	1795
Printing invented	1440	Napoleon I., Emperor	1804
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Luther and Tetzel	1518	Moscow burned	1812
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Council of Trent rises	1546	Waterloo	1815
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Gustavus Adolphus	1632	Napoleon III. Emperor	1852
Galileo at Florence	1642	Crimean War	1854
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		Chinese War.. .. .	1860
		American Civil War	1861
Oliver Cromwell	1654	The New Reformation	1861

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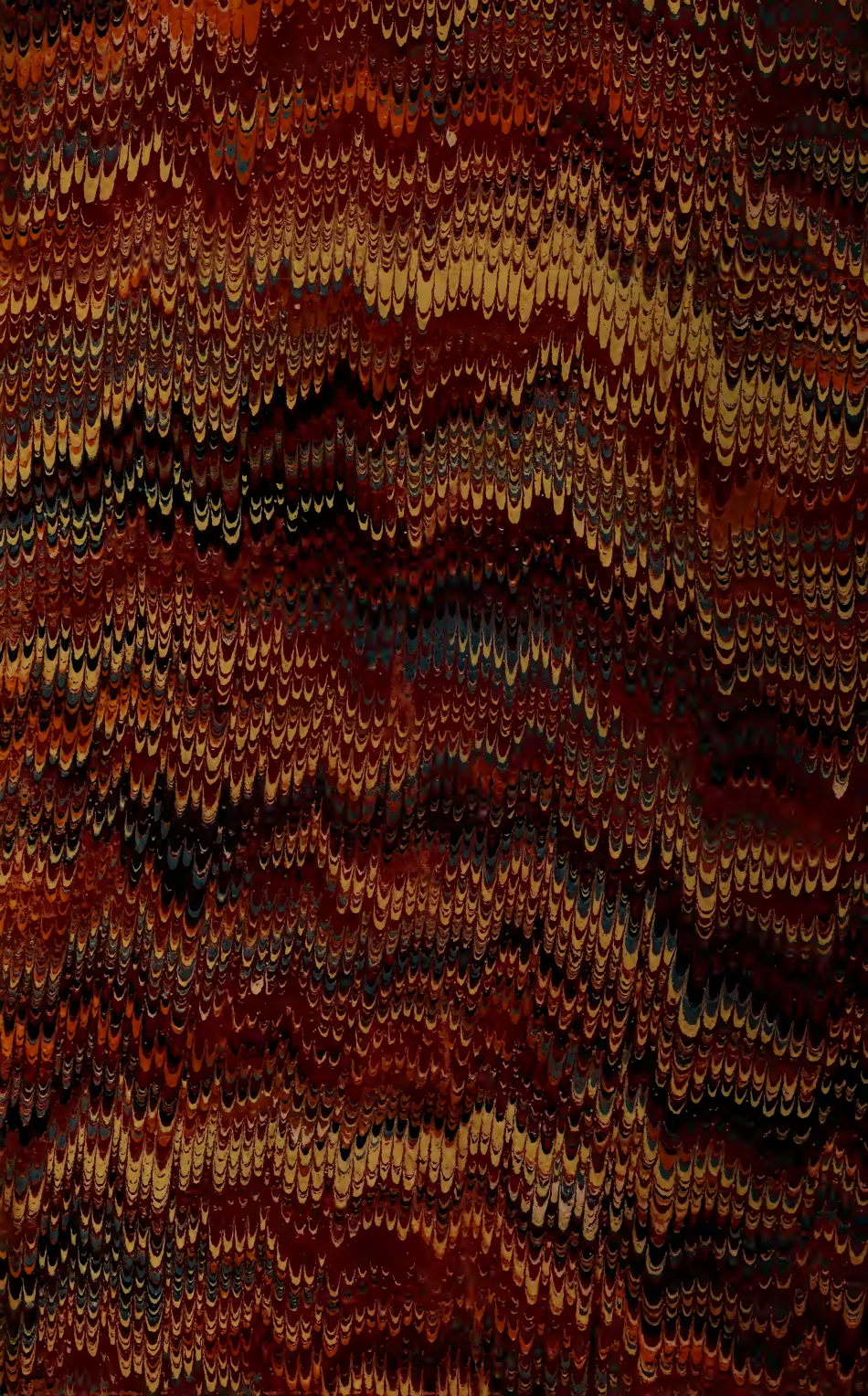
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